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A HISTORY
OF
THE MINORIES, LONDON

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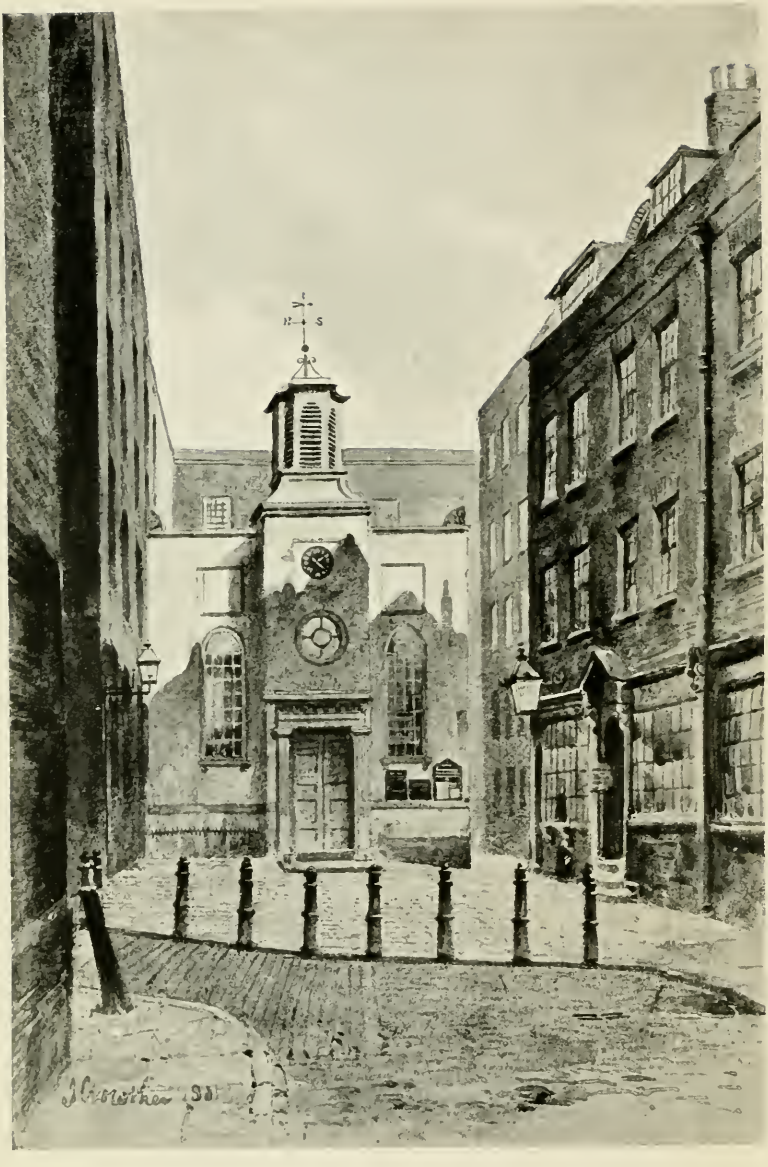
J. Crowther 88

THE CHURCH OF HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES (WEST FRONT).

[*Frontispiece.*

A HISTORY
OF
THE MINORIES
LONDON

BY

EDWARD MURRAY TOMLINSON, M.A.

SOMETIME VICAR OF HOLY TRINITY MINORIES

WITH THIRTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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LONDON
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1907

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PREFACE

The materials, upon which the following pages are founded, were collected some twenty to twenty-five years ago, during part of the time that I held the incumbency of Holy Trinity Minories. It is only in the last few years, however, that I have had leisure to arrange them in the form in which they are now presented, and which I have ventured to call 'A History of the Minories.'

I am aware that I may be charged with overburdening the text with quotations; but I think that in this way the idiosyncrasies of individuals and the characteristics of different ages are best portrayed. The most graphic editorial word-painting is not so true a guide as contemporary writings and memoranda; even the spelling and quaint expressions have a distinct illustrative value. The original MSS., in cases where I have had access to them, are transcribed without any alteration, with the exception of those in Latin and Norman French, of which a translation is invariably given. Then further, many of the documents from which I quote (especially the Parish Records) are not likely to come to the notice even of those engaged in antiquarian research. They may, indeed, be useful only to a few; nevertheless, for the sake of those few, I have thought them as a rule worthy of being reproduced *in extenso*. Moreover, I hope there may be others who, not caring to wade through these extracts, may yet find some interest in the perusal of the general statements drawn from them.

The many vicissitudes through which the precinct of the Minories has passed, during the 600 years over which this history extends, lends to it an interest peculiarly its own. The abundance of existing information bearing upon it renders it possible to trace, with considerable fulness, the various phases which each successive period presents. Although the events recorded, for the most part, took place within a very limited area, yet they may not be without some little value in illustrating the forces and influences which, for centuries, have been at work in making the English people what they are.

So numerous are the names of those, famous in their own days, who have been more or less intimately connected with the Minories, or who have been buried within the Precinct, that, with regard to many of them, it has been impossible to do more than sketch briefly the main incidents of their careers. In determining the space to be allotted to each biographical notice, I have mainly acted on the principle of dealing most briefly with those who are known to history, and the accounts of whose lives are most easily accessible to the general reader.

It has been my endeavour to make this history as complete and accurate as possible; I have consulted every printed book that I could discover bearing upon the subject, but in no instance have I reproduced therefrom any statement that I have not been able to verify from contemporary or other reliable authority.[1] As the many extracts show, I have almost entirely relied on original documents preserved at the Record Office, the British Museum, the Guildhall, and the Lambeth Libraries, and in that deep storehouse of information, the Parochial Records.

I may mention here that, on the reunion of the parish with Saint Botolph's, Aldgate, the Registers were transferred to that church, but the Vestry minute-books, and the Churchwardens' Accounts were handed over to the Whitechapel Vestry. Since then they have passed into the custody of the Corporation of Stepney. The latter, I have every reason to believe, is fully aware of the value of the treasure that has been committed to its keeping, and will take due care that it is safely preserved.

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[1] This remark does not apply to Chapter 1, on the order of St. Clare; for the materials of that chapter I have relied entirely upon well-known existing works, notably Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, and Newcourt's *Repertorium*.

It only remains for me to express my sincerest thanks to the officials in the various repositories of ancient records, for the kindly and courteous assistance they have invariably given me. I must especially mention the name of Mr. Challoner Smith, the custodian of wills at Somerset House. But for his extensive knowledge of the documents in his charge, which he placed generously and freely at my disposal, I should never have been able to discover many of the wills which throw so much light on the conventual life of the Sisterhood of the Minories. By Mr. J. M. Macfie, M A., I have been ably assisted in correcting the proofs and compiling the index. I also owe a debt of deep gratitude to many personal friends, who have aided me in no small degree, both in my researches and also in the preparation of the sheets for the press.

E. M. TOMLINSON.

The Castle House, Petersfield:
October 1907.

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ABBREVIATIONS IN THE NOTES

B.M., British Museum.
S.H., Somerset House.
Rot. Clos., Close Rolls.
R.O., Record Office.
S.P., State Papers.
Rot. Pat., Patent Rolls.

A
HISTORY OF THE MINORIES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE Minories is associated in most minds with the well-known street which, leading from the Church of St. Botolph Aldgate, now forms the principal approach to the Tower Bridge from the north.

It is perhaps known only to a few that the name was appropriated to this street in comparatively modern times, being transferred thereto from the precinct to which for centuries it solely applied, and which lay upon its eastern side.

It is the history of this precinct, and not that of the street, which we have to tell.

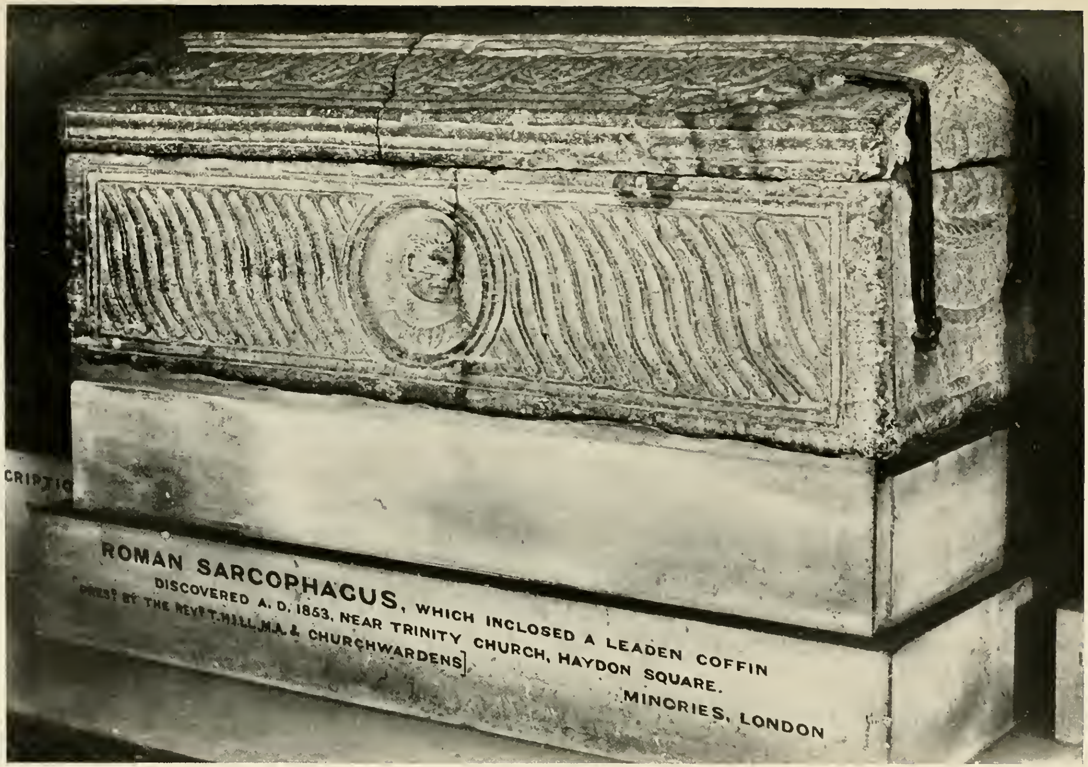
The appellation of the Minories is derived from the title borne by the famous sisterhood of the 'Sorores Minores,' of the Order of St. Clare.

From the earliest days of their settlement in this country the sisters were commonly known as Minoresses, and their house as the Minories.

It is by no means certain what was exactly intended to be implied by this term, or by that of the 'Fratres Minores,' or 'Minorites'; whether it was a designation of humility, or whether it owes its origin to the name given to the democratic party at Assisi (in contradistinction to the 'Majores' or the oligarchs), and adopted by St. Francis and by St. Clara as the distinguishing title of their orders.

When the Abbey of the Minories was dissolved, the precinct and its buildings, though put to other uses, were still known for many generations by the name by which they had so long been famous ; but the dedicatory name of St. Trinity, or Holy Trinity, was given to the Abbey church when it became the church of the parish, and from thenceforth the parish was called Saint Trinity, or Holy Trinity, or sometimes Trinity in the Minories.

In process of time the name became, by a slight abbreviation, Holy Trinity Minories. It is necessary to emphasise this fact, for some, who ought to have been well informed, have omitted to notice that the name Holy Trinity is never found in any shape or form in connection with the Abbey, but was certainly adopted, not received as an inheritance, by the parochial authorities ; and it was only by slow degrees that the new title came into general use. In official documents of all kinds the precinct is simply designated as the Minories. Lieutenant-Generals of the Ordnance invariably so headed their letters. In a will, dated 1604, we find the expression 'the precinct called the Mynories,' and in the same will 'the Minister and Churchwardens of the Church of the Trinitie in the Mynories.' In another will, dated 1707, we find 'the Parish of the Minories in London.' Some little time, however, before this, the term Minories was beginning to be applied to the street which now bears the name ; the small street leading from this main thoroughfare to the church, now called Church Street, became the Little Minories, and by degrees the word 'Little' succeeded in appending itself to the parish. It is so designated in a petition of Captain George Legge to King Charles II in 1670; and Seymour, writing in 1734, speaks of the Minories as consisting of the Great and the Little ; but in Lady Pritchard's will, dated 1707, it is the Parish of the Minories in London. In a will dated 1763, and in another dated 1768, the expression occurs, 'the Minister and Churchwardens of the Little Trinity Minories,' a term which has not yet quite died out. We shall relate, in due course, the sequence of events by which the further addition, 'in the Liberty of the Tower of London,' was made to the parochial title.


CRIPTIO
ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS, WHICH INCLOSED A LEADEN COFFIN
DISCOVERED A. D. 1853, NEAR TRINITY CHURCH, HAYDON SQUARE.
PRESD BY THE REVD T. HILL M.A. & CHURCHWARDENS]
MINORIES, LONDON

ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS, DISCOVERED IN THE MINORIES IN 1853.

The site on which the Abbey was built, and which afterwards became the parish of the Holy Trinity Minories, covers about five acres of ground, and was outside the City walls. It formed a part of the parish of St. Botolph Aldgate, and was within the City ward of Portsoken.

By the privileges and immunities granted to the Abbey it ceased to be a part of St. Botolph's and the ward of Portsoken; from the latter it is still severed, but to the former it has again been united, after more than 600 years of separation.

There is abundant evidence that, in Roman times, a portion, at all events, of the ground enclosed within the area allotted to the Abbey had been used for burials. At various times funeral urns containing bones and ashes, and pottery and glass vessels of various kinds, have been found. In 1853 a fine sarcophagus was unearthed, within which was a leaden coffin; it is now in the British Museum. When the excavations were made for the Metropolitan Railway, among other relics of antiquity, a massive lead coffin was discovered not far from the spot where the sarcophagus was found. It was ornamented with scallop shells and a beaded pattern of well-known Roman type, but it was, unfortunately, broken up by one of the workmen.

CHAPTER II

THE ORDER OF ST. CLARE

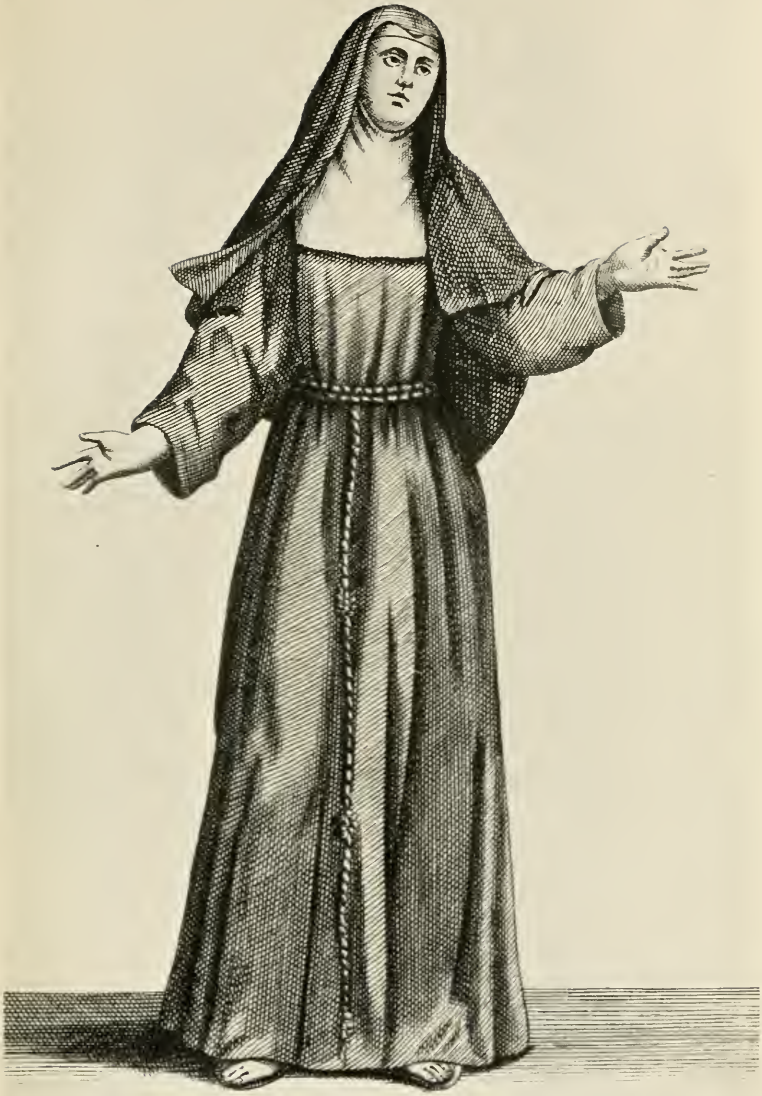
Origin of the Order—Biography of St. Clara—The character and rules of the Order—Its growth and subdivisions

The Order of the Sorores Minores, to which the Abbey of the Minores in London belonged, was founded by St. Clara of Assisi, in Italy, and claimed Palm Sunday, March 18, 1212, as the date of its origin.

Clara was the eldest of three daughters of Faverino Sciffo, a noble knight and distinguished soldier, who boasted an ancient lineage and was the possessor of considerable wealth. Clara's great beauty, and the riches of which she was the heir, early attracted many suitors for her hand, and when only eighteen years old her parents began to express an urgent desire for her betrothal; by which she was sorely troubled, as she had already set her heart on the renunciation of the world, and the devotion of her life to the service of Christ.

From her infancy she had been extremely charitable and devout, and the character which the devotional spirit of the age was more and more tending to assume attracted her with irresistible force. A crisis, which was to leave its marks on the centuries which were to follow, had come in the history of the Church. The wealth, with which the piety of earlier generations had endowed her, had proved a source of deadly corruption; a vast number of the clergy took Holy Orders solely for the worldly position and the wealth that they would thereby obtain; idleness and greed were the almost universal vices of bishops and clergy of all degrees, while the majority were so steeped in ignorance that few could preach if they would. The masses of the people had no instruction, beyond such as the perfunctory performance of the services afforded, and only here and there was any just standard of Christian life and living set before them. The revolt against this state of things began outside the Church, but it was not long before the spirit which was abroad penetrated within the fold. Two men, almost at the same time, but quite independently of each other, Dominic and Francis, determined upon setting themselves to direct and lead the current that was setting in so strongly towards higher and purer ideals of Christian life and conduct. Dominic founded the Order of Preaching Friars, Francis the famous brotherhood who were, indeed, to be teachers, but who were specially to be examples, in the midst of a sinful world, of pure, holy living, sanctified self-denial, and abnegation of all that the world can offer of pleasure or comfort. St. Francis and his followers believed that true holiness would be most effectively attained by an absolute renunciation of everything through which temptation could possibly reach the soul. To this end he enjoined upon himself and his followers absolute poverty, celibacy, and an entire severance of the whole life from all social intercourse with the rest of mankind, and from the ordinary business of the world; and, in order to keep the flesh in perpetual subjection to the spirit, the brethren practised the severest bodily mortifications and spent a large portion of their time in worship and prayer. There are many, in these days, ready to assert that such stern asceticism was a mistake; that a higher life is that which is lived in the world and yet above it. Perhaps it may be so; but we must remember that they followed what they believed to be the only way to keep themselves unspotted from the world in which their lot was cast, and to effect a genuine reformation of the whole tone of the moral thought and feeling of their time. The immense influence that they and their successors exercised, and which waned only as the principles which actuated the early devotees of the Order were gradually forgotten, is the measure of their justification.

Clara was the first lady whose heart had been thoroughly captivated by the life and teaching of St. Francis, and it was to him that she went for advice when the trouble of her parents' importunity for her betrothal pressed so heavily upon her. He, without any hesitation, counselled her to forsake her home, and face all that such a step involved, and come to him. Although at that time no sisterhood of his Order existed, he was quite prepared to make a temporary arrangement for her care until a home for herself and others who, he hoped, would soon follow her example could be prepared. It was not long before her resolve was taken and executed. On Palm Sunday, March 18, 1212, Clara, together with the other members of her family, attended the usual services of the church, when, according to custom, each member of the congregation went up to the altar to receive the branches of palm which the Bishop had blessed. Clara, however, remained alone in the body of the church, but she soon attracted the notice of the Bishop. He, rightly discerning that modesty and humility were the cause of her hanging back, went down from the altar to her, and gave her the palm. She accepted it and joined the procession, and there and then she made up her mind that this condescending action of the Bishop was a distinct call to her to leave the world. That very evening, accompanied by another young woman, she escaped from her home, and presented herself at the door of the Chapel of the Portiuncula, where St. Francis and his little community dwelled, and implored to be received as a penitent. The brethren conducted her with lighted tapers to the altar of the Virgin, singing the hymn 'Veni Creator Spiritus.' There she put from her the gorgeous apparel, the same in which she had appeared at the service in the morning, and St. Francis wrapped around her the plain sackcloth habit of his Order in its stead, and cut off her luxuriant and beautiful hair. He at once placed her in the Benedictine Nunnery of St. Paul. Her relations were furious and attempted to remove her by force, but she resisted alike their violence and entreaties. St. Francis shortly afterwards sent her to another Benedictine house, that of St. Angelo of Bauso, where she was joined by her sister Agnes. Again the family protested, and used even greater violence than before in their vain endeavours to restore them to their



A NUN OF THE ORDER OF ST. CLARE.
(From Stevens's 'Abbeys.')

home. Shortly after this a small house was obtained close to the Church of St. Damian, just outside the city, and here St. Francis established, in a house of their own, the community of his sacred order, with Clara as its Superior. It is related that when St. Francis, some time previously, was begging alms to repair the Church of St. Damian, he used to say, 'Assist me to finish this building; here will one day be a monastery of holy virgins, by whose good fame our Lord will be glorified over the whole Church.' Clara, it is said, inserted this prophecy in her will. After the death of her father, Clara was joined by her mother, Hortulana, and several ladies of her kindred, and others, to the number of sixteen. Of these, three belonged to the illustrious family of the Waldini in Florence. Hortulana, though well advanced in years, accepted in all its rigour the discipline prescribed by the Order, without any relaxation, to the day of her death. She was buried first of all at St. Damian's; but at a later time her body was removed and laid beside those of her two daughters, Clara and Agnes, in the Church of the Monastery of St. George.

Clara did not long rest contented with the establishment and organisation of her community at St. Damian's; within a very few years she established monasteries at Perugia, Arezzo, Padua, Venice, Mantua, Bologna, Spoleto, Milan, Sienna, Pisa, and Rome.

The rule of the Order was characterised by the severest austerities. The sisters wore neither stockings, shoes, sandals,[1] nor any other covering on their feet; they lay on the ground, observed perpetual abstinence, and never spoke, except when absolutely obliged to do so. Clara recommended this enforced silence as a means of restraining the sins of the tongue, and of preserving the mind in constant recollection of God and free from the thoughts of the world, which otherwise would penetrate within the walls of the cloisters. Their services were without music, even on the high festivals. Clara went so far as to prohibit the ignorant from learning to read. She herself practised a severer discipline than the rules of the Order enjoined, and would never allow herself any privilege or distinction as Superior, insisting on performing the most menial offices. On Church vigils, and all through Lent, and from November 11 to Christmas Day, she subsisted on bread and water only, and on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays during these times she ate nothing at all. She always wore next her skin a rough shift of horsehair, or of hog's bristles cut short; sometimes she strewed the ground on which she lay with twigs, having a block for her pillow. These austerities affected her health so seriously that St. Francis and the Bishop obliged her to lie on a little chaff, and never to pass a day without at least eating some bread. With all her self-mortification, however, and the weakness of body that it produced, she never lost her cheerfulness, ever regarding her life as the closest possible imitation of the life of Christ, and with this idea before her she was always happy. She spent much of her time in prayer, often continuing her devotions when the rest of the sisters slept. Many were the occasions, it is said, that she experienced singular and direct answers to her prayers. One specially noteworthy story is told: a band of infidel Saracens, who had taken service under Frederick II, were advancing to the plunder of Assisi, and were assaulting her convent, which stood without the walls of the city; whereupon Clara, although seriously ill at the time, proceeded to the gate, taking with her the Pyx containing the Host, and, placing it on the threshold, prostrated herself before it, earnestly praying that God would preserve her and her community. A sudden fear at once seized the Saracens, and they threw down their arms and fled precipitately.

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[1] The habit consisted of a gown of grey wool with a knotted cord, a white coif on the head, and over all a black veil, to be worn when outside the convent walls.

For eight-and-twenty years she was continually suffering from pain and disease, possibly to a great extent due to the severity of her self-imposed discipline, but her cheerfulness and patience never deserted her to the very last. She expired on August 11, 1253, amidst the prayers and tears of her community, including her sister Agnes. Pope Innocent IV, who had visited her shortly before her death, came again from Perugia, and assisted in person, with the Sacred

College, at her funeral. Alexander IV canonised her at Anagni in 1255. Her body was first buried at St. Damian's; but the Pope ordered a new monastery to be built for her nuns at the Church of St. George, within the walls, which was finished in 1260, and thither her remains were translated with great pomp. Five years later a new church was built there, which bears her name, and under the high altar of which her bones were finally laid to rest.

St. Francis had ordained that his Order should never possess property or rents of any description whatever, that the brothers should subsist on the alms of the charitable, given to them from day to day; and St. Clara adopted the same rule. When, on her father's death, she inherited his large fortune, she gave it all away to the poor, reserving absolutely nothing for her monastery. Pope Gregory IX desired to mitigate this part of her rule, and offered to settle a yearly revenue upon her monastery of St. Damian's; but she earnestly besought him to leave her Order to follow its rigorous rule of poverty; she even requested Pope Innocent IV to confirm the privilege, which he did in 1251 by a Bull written with his own hand. But, alas! *quot homines tot sententiae*; only twelve years after this (1263) St. Isabel, the sister of St. Lewis of France, for the good or ill of the future of the Order, obtained from Pope Urban IV leave for the nuns of the Order of St. Clare, for whom she had founded a house at Longchamp, to enjoy settled revenues. From this date the Order was practically divided into two sections, those who became possessed of property receiving the designation of Urbanists, and those, on the other hand, who, in deference to the principles of their foundress, abjured endowments being denominated Damianists, after the church to which St. Clara's first monastery was attached. It would seem that even these, before long, in the strictness of their discipline fell sadly short of the rules laid down by St. Francis and St. Clara, so much so that a movement for a radical reform of the Damianist section of the Order was instituted by B. Collette, a French nun. It was apparently after this that the sisters following the rule of poverty received the appellation of 'Poor Clares.' As time went on, and the number of houses rapidly increased, various modifications of the rule came to be adopted, which resulted in a further subdivision of the Order under distinct designations; such were the Capucinesses, Annunciales, Conceptionists, Cordelians, Recollects, and others. There were at one time as many as 4000 houses of the Order, belonging to one denomination or another.

In a general way the Order of monks founded by St. Francis was called the First Order of St. Francis, and was commonly known as the 'Fratres Minores.' The nuns of the Order of St. Clare, the 'Sorores Minores,' were called the Second Order of St. Francis. In 1221 St. Francis founded his Third Order, by which he purposed to unite persons of both sexes, married and single, while following their several secular callings, for the mutual encouragement of holy living and the performance of works of charity and benevolence. This Order became, probably, more generally useful to mankind than the other two, for it not only set forth an example of saintliness of life and character, but it brought into strong relief the practical side of Christianity—the bringing of help, comfort, and consolation to the suffering, sorrowing, and oppressed.

In after-days many of the Third Order, of both sexes, adopted the monastic life, but, as a ruling principle of their Order, they continued to devote themselves to tending the sick, taking care of lunatics, and other works of benevolence and philanthropy.

CHAPTER III

THE ABBEY, A.D. 1293–1538

Foundation of the Abbey by Edmund Earl of Lancaster and Blanche, his wife—Privileges granted to the Order by royal patents and papal bulls, and gifts and donations by private individuals, illustrating the character and style of living of the sisterhood and the motives which actuated the donors

The Community of the 'Sorores Minores,' or, as the title was rendered into English, 'the Minoresses,'[1] which was established just outside the walls of the City of London in 1293, and whose history forms the subject of the following pages, belonged to the Second Order of St. Francis, and was an offshoot of that branch which has been designated as 'Urbanists.' In papal bulls and royal patents the sisterhood is generally described, though with some occasional unimportant verbal variations, as consisting of 'the Abbess and Sisters Minoresses of the Order of St. Clare of the grace of the Blessed Mary the Virgin.' In one bull, to which we shall refer again, it is stated that the sisters belonged to the Order of Enclosed Minoresses, who observe the rule that prevailed in the Monastery of the Humility of St. Mary, near St. Cloud, in the diocese of Paris. Most probably it was from this French monastery that the Abbey of the Minories in London was colonised, and from which it inherited, in a slightly modified form, the distinctive title 'of the grace of the Blessed Mary the Virgin.'

The licence, by which the authority of the crown was given for its foundation, states that it was at the invitation of Queen Blanche, the wife of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, that the sisters came to England; while Edmund himself not only heartily supported his wife in her pious intentions but took all necessary steps for establishing their house. He was regarded as the actual founder of the Abbey, and, as the holder of that honoured title, his heart was buried under the high altar in the church. Edmund was the younger brother of King Edward I, while Blanche was a daughter of Robert Count d'Artois (a younger son of Louis VIII of France) and Maud of Brabant. Blanche was the widow of Henry Le Gros, King of Navarre, and retained her title of Queen after her second marriage. She was the niece of St. Isabel, who had obtained from Pope Urban IV the bull to enable the Order of St. Clare to hold property, and who had herself founded a monastery of the Order. Edmund and Blanche spent much of their time in France, and to their close relationship with St. Isabel may naturally be traced the inspiration to transport to England from France a branch of the Order in which Isabel was so much interested, and for whose worldly prosperity, at all events, she had done so much.

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[1] Two other houses of the Order were established in England: one at Brusyard, in Suffolk, and the other at Waterbeche. From the latter Abbey the sisters were removed, in 1348, to Denny, in Cambridgeshire, by Mary Countess of Pembroke, widow of Adomare Earl of Pembroke.

The King's licence, which the Statute of Mortmain rendered necessary for the acquisition of landed property by any religious body, was expressed in the following terms: [1]—

For the nuns of the order of Minoresses who through the Queen of Navarre are about to come to England.

The King to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting, Although in accordance with the common council of our kingdom we have ordained that it is not lawful for religious men or others to enter into a compact of any kind so that property may pass into dead hands without our leave or that of the chief lord by whom the land is held immediately of the king. Being willing however to grant a special favour to our beloved Edmund, we have given a licence to him, as far as is in our power, that he shall be able to give and assign a certain plot of land which he holds in the gift and feoffment of Master Thomas de Bredstrete in the Parish of St. Botolph without Algate to our beloved in Christ the nuns of the order of Minoresses who through the noble lady Blanch Queen of Navarre wife of the same our brother are about to come to England and dwell in our kingdom, and serve

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 21 Ed. I. m. 2 (Latin).

God and Blessed Mary and Blessed Francis whereon a house may be built for them and inhabited by them to be had and held by the same nuns and their successors for ever. And similarly we grant our special licence to the same nuns that they may be able to receive the same place from our aforesaid brother by the tenour of these presents. Being unwilling that the same our brother or his heirs and the aforesaid nuns or their successors shall in any way be inconvenienced or suffer through us or our heirs by means of the aforesaid statute. Saving however the services of the capital lords by which it is held and is accustomed.

By the King at Westminster
the 18th day of June.

After the granting of this licence no time seems to have been lost in bringing over the sisters and establishing them in their new home, for it is evident that before the close of the following year they had taken up their quarters on the little plot of land which, for many centuries afterwards, was to be known as 'the Minories.'

We are entirely without information as to what were the rules which, in common with those of their mother house, governed the lives and directed the occupations of the sisters, the number of the religious who were the original members of the community, the extent of the buildings erected for their accommodation, or by whom the funds for their erection were provided; though these were, in all probability, raised, if not entirely given, by Edmund and his wife. Indeed, with few exceptions, to which we shall refer later on, no records of the Abbey are now forthcoming. The principal sources from which we can gather materials for picturing to ourselves the condition, character, and status of the community are papal bulls and royal patents, and the accounts of gifts and benefactions contained in private wills.

The bulls and letters patent were issued for the purpose of securing to the Abbey special privileges or exemptions, for giving authority to generous donors to make grants of land or property, or for giving leave to the sisters to receive the gifts. It was an essential feature of the system under which religious houses were at that time conducted, that the strictest obedience to the rules of the Order to which they belonged should be enforced, and their special mission in life fulfilled, without the possibility of any interference from outside, except from the heads of the Order or the Pope himself. It was also deemed necessary, by those who did not favour the rule of absolute poverty, that the means of living should be secured to the inmates, so that they might pursue their avocations undisturbed by the anxieties of providing for their daily necessities.

In furtherance of these aims it was the first care of the founders of the Abbey, as soon as it was established, to procure from the Pope and the King the documents necessary to place it on a similar footing to other religious houses. If these documents do not supply us with all that we should like to know of the life and work of the sisters, they shed no little light on the subject.

The documents, which belong to quite the early period, give certainly the impression that when the Abbey was founded, and for some little time afterwards, the spirit which so conspicuously characterised the lives of St. Francis and St. Clara was still, in a great measure, the motive force which led so many to enter upon the monastic life, and induced the charitable to contribute so liberally to their support. But, as we shall see, before very long the recognised purposes for which the religious houses existed underwent a considerable change, and one which marks a distinct decadence in the conception of the Christian life from that which had been set forth by the founders of the Order, and those who had immediately followed them, and on account of which they were themselves so reverenced, and by which they exercised such a powerful influence for good in the world. This change was in part, no doubt, due to the tendency of all human efforts, however well meant and however powerfully effecting their purpose, to lose in time something of the vitality with which they were endowed by the zeal and faith of their originators, but it was also largely due to the definite formulation, and the reception throughout the Western Church of the doctrine of Purgatory.

From the earliest days of the Christian era the belief was universal that prayers offered for departed souls were heard and answered, but the Fathers of the Church made little or no attempt to define the condition of the soul apart from the body, or the manner and extent of the efficacy of such prayers. Dogmatic teaching on these points was the growth of later years, and it was not till the thirteenth century that the doctrine was definitely formulated, by which it was taught that there is a place, neither in Heaven nor in Hell, called Purgatory, in which the souls of those who repented of their sins, but who had no time before their death to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, must expiate their sins by suffering, and that the time of this suffering could be shortened by the saying of Masses and by the prayers and almsgiving of those on earth. A further development of this doctrine, the abuses connected with which had so much to do with the movement towards the Reformation, arose out of the granting of indulgences, by which the penances of the penitents were remitted, when these indulgences were made applicable, not only to those prescribed for the penitents during life, but also to the purgatorial fires after death.

It is easy to see, as this new doctrine became accepted and almost universally believed throughout the Western Church, how great would be the anxiety to secure as many Masses, as many prayers, and as much almsgiving as possible for the deliverance of the soul from the pains of Purgatory, and how attention would be diverted from the perfecting of the soul here to its deliverance from the punishment hereafter, of which the awful pains were too often depicted, for the purposes of gain, in the most vivid colours. It also met and satisfied the tendency of human nature to adopt whatever course gives the least trouble. It is much easier to leave by will a sum of money, or some property, to procure for the soul after death what could only be secured during life by restraint and self-sacrifice. No wonder that, under this baneful influence, the very purpose for which religious houses existed came to be viewed in a wholly different light, while the character of the monastic and conventual life degenerated. The development of this doctrine of purgatorial fires brought a plentiful harvest of legacies and broad acres to the religious houses; but with these grew the taste for more expensive living and luxuries before unknown; while in later years all the terrors of the after-life failed to draw into the net a sufficiency for their satisfaction, and, notwithstanding the substantial revenues possessed by the religious houses in the aggregate, the plea of poverty never ceased to be raised.[1] After 1347, when we first meet with the obligation of intercession as a condition precedent to a donation, most of the gifts that the Abbey received were bestowed with the proviso that prayers should be offered for the souls of the donors, or for others specifically named.

But, despite what must be regarded as a distinct falling away from the primitive standard of life and purpose which at first was aimed at so faithfully and enthusiastically, numberless saintly lives continued to be nurtured within the walls of monasteries and convents. Many of these houses were the homes of thoroughly sincere and true devotion, and for long they exercised a beneficent influence upon the world at large. We owe them now a debt of gratitude which no criticism of their failings should be allowed to obscure.

There is extant one, and, as far as we know, only one relic of the Abbey itself which throws any light upon the character of the religious life that prevailed within the sisterhood. It plainly shows that prayers for the departed, though regarded as of primary importance, did not alone occupy the thoughts and attention of the sisters, but that personal holiness and self-restraint were virtues which were not only cultivated, but regarded as essentially requisite to the Christian life. [2]This relic is an illuminated book, transcribed on vellum, bound up between some leaves of a service-book of an earlier date. The service-book to which these leaves belonged is probably of the fourteenth century, and contains services for the commendation of souls and burial of the dead, set to music. The book itself, the date of which is probably late fifteenth century, consists of two treatises and a commentary on the ninety-first Psalm. The first treatise is headed ‘Here bygynith ye second part of ye reformyng of mannys soule; drawyn of Maistir watir hiltone hermyte. The firste chapitule schewith y^t man is seyd ye ymage of god after ye soule.' The second is headed 'This tretis y^{t} sewith was maad by Maistir watir hiltone : & herinne is taugt how man schuld rule him & it is clepid medlid liif.' At the top of the page on the fly-leaf at the end of the book is written, 'Dame Elyzabeth horwode Abbas of ye Menoresse off London to her gostle comforthe bowgth thys boke hyt to Remayne to the use off ye Systers of ye sayde Place to pray for ye geuer & ffor ye sowles off hyr ffader & her moder Thomas horwode & beatryxe & ye sowle of mayster Robert Allerton.' And at the bottom of the page in another handwriting, 'thys bok longyth to ye abbessy.' This is of a later style again, probably early sixteenth century.

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[1] At the time of the Dissolution of the monasteries their united annual incomes amounted to 142,914*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*

[2] B.M. *Harleian MS.* no. 2397.

Then, further, in addition to what we learn of the character of the religious life of the sisterhood, we can gather something as to the style and the degree of comfort in which the sisters lived. That it was originally intended that a strict asceticism should be the rule of their lives cannot be doubted, but, as time went on, the nature of some of the gifts which were bestowed upon them seems hardly to accord with the austerity of their profession, and renders it probable that laxity in practice crept in by degrees, and even luxuries were not unknown.

From a reference,[1] at a very late period, to an infirmary which had been added to the monastic buildings it may be inferred that possibly the sisterhood employed part of their time in tending the sick. This infirmary apparently contained about eighteen beds ; more than could have been required for any needs of the community ; it would seem therefore that it was intended for others besides the sisters ; but as the beds were not always in use, their hospital work, if such it was, cannot have been on a very large scale.

The first patent[2] issued to the sisters, subsequently to the granting of the licence for the foundation of the Abbey, is endorsed 'for the Abbess of the house of the Blessed Mary of the grace of God of the Order of St. Clare' ; it renders them free from common summonses, and runs thus : —

The King to all Bailiffs to whom &c. Greeting, Know that at the instance of Edmund our most dear brother we have conceded for us and our heirs to our dearly beloved in Christ the Abbess of the house of the grace of the blessed Mary of the order of S^{t} Clare without the walls of London which is of the foundation of our aforesaid brother that she and her successors the Abbesses of the same place shall be quit of common summonses before the itinerant justices of ourself and our heirs as well as at the common pleas and the forest pleas in any county of our kingdom.

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[1] See pages 52, 53.

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 22 Ed. I. m. 10 (Latin).

Witness the King at Upaven
the 28th day of August
By the King himself.

This was followed, on November 8 of the same year, by a licence[1] to enable the sisters to accept a considerable amount of house property in the City and the suburbs thereof, as an endowment of the Abbey. The opening portion of the patent is in exactly the same terms as the licence for the foundation. It then proceeds:—

Being desirous however to grant a special favour to our dearest brother Edmund we give him licence as far as in us lies that he may be able to assign to our beloved in Christ the Abbess and sisters Minoresses of the order of S^{t} Clare of the grace of the blessed Mary the Virgin one tenement which he has from the demise of William Alluarius formerly tiler in the suburbs of London, one tenement which he has from the demise of Geofry coureur and odierne his wife in the same suburb one tenement which he has from the demise of William de Walkam and Elene his wife in the same suburb one plot of land which he has from the demise of Adam le Windrawer and Alice his wife in the same suburb one plot of land which he has from the demise of Solomon de Twyller and Eleyne his wife in the same suburb one plot of land which he has of Galfus de Houndesdich executor of the will of Thomas de la More in the same suburb one plot of land which he has from the demise of John Goldcorne in the same suburb and thirty pounds rent which he has from the demise of Henry de Waleys in S^{t} Laurence lane near Westcheape and in Cordwanstrete and at Douugate in the said city to have and to hold to themselves and to their successors for ever. And we likewise give our special licence to the said Abbess and sisters that they may receive and keep and hold for ever the said tenements plots and rents from my aforesaid brother.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 22 Ed. I. m. 2 (Latin).

We will that our aforesaid brother or his heirs or the said Abbess sisters or their successors shall not be hindered or aggrieved by reason of the aforesaid statute by us or our heirs saving to the superior lords those fees and services arising and accustomed, and also free ingress and egress to distrain for the same fees for the aforesaid customs and services as often as anything shall happen to be in arrears.

Witness the King at the Tower of London
8th of November.

Shortly afterwards the Abbess, backed by Edmund and his wife, applied to the Pope for a bull to enable them to appropriate the proceeds of one of the livings of which the said Edmund was patron. It was this questionable habit of taking away a large portion of the tithes from the parochial clergy and parishioners for the benefit of the monastic houses that paved the way for depriving the Church at the time of the Reformation of no small amount of her ancient heritage; but neither the Pope nor any other ecclesiastical authority foresaw that, by their appropriation of the revenues of the parishes, they were creating a precedent for the plunder of the Church at large. So, without any compunction, the following bull[1] bearing date April 6, 1295, was issued.

It concedes to them the power to apply the proceeds of one church. Regist. Vatican Epist. 231.

To our beloved daughters in Christ the Abbess and convent of the monastery of the house of the grace of the Blessed Virgin Mary without the walls of London, of the Order of St. Clare. The sincerity of your religion, and the prayers of our beloved son, the prince Edmund, the brother of our most dear son in Christ, Edward the illustrious King of England, induce us to bestow on you that favour which appears to be opportune to your necessities. To the petition of the said prince therefore in this matter, who with our dearest daughter in Christ, Blanche the illustrious Queen of Navarre, his wife, is said to have founded your monastery, and to your prayers favourably assenting, we have caused to be conceded to you, to your own use, by the authority of these presents, one of the churches of which the said prince holds the right of patronage, and fruits, rents, and proceeds of which amount to the annual value of forty marks sterling; so that when this church shall happen to become vacant by the cession or decease of the rector of the same church, you are at liberty to take it in possession by your own authority, the assent of the diocesan of the place, or of any other whatsoever, not being requisite, and to retain it to the aforesaid uses in perpetuity, reserving nevertheless a portion of its proceeds to the perpetual vicar, who shall serve in the same church, sufficient for his comfortable maintenance, and to pay the episcopal dues and the discharge of all burdens incumbent on the same church.

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[1] Wadding (Lucas), *Annales Minorum* (1733), vol. v. p. 560 (Latin).

Let none therefore of our concession etc.

Given at the Lateran VIII id. of April in the first year of our Pontificate. (Boniface VIII.)

It is interesting to note that, although the Pope assumed absolute power to make such a grant of an advowson to the monastery, and in a similar way to strengthen the financial position of the Minoresses and other religious houses, by exempting them from the payment of taxation of various kinds, yet in this realm of England such a power, though accepted in fact, was certainly in some instances denied in principle; there was no attempt openly to dispute the papal assumptions, but when temporalities or money were concerned, the recipients of the favours conferred found it necessary, sooner or later, to obtain royal patents granting, as it were, *de novo*, or confirming, the gifts. Thus the power to apply the proceeds of a church was bestowed by the above bull on April 6, 1295; a year and a half later (December 15, 1296), a patent was granted enabling them to accept some land which Edmund had given them, and also the advowson of the church of Hertendon, but it is to be noticed that no allusion is made to the papal bull in reference to the annexation of the advowson. Then again, a bull, dated July 3, 1296, freed all monasteries of the Order from the payment of tenths and other contributions, among which tallages[1] are specially mentioned, but in 1316 a patent was granted freeing them from the payment of tallage, entirely ignoring the papal bull. The Abbey of the Minories, however, appears to have successfully evaded the payment of tenths, on the strength of the papal authority, till 1335, when their rights were evidently disputed. In this instance, however, they appealed to the bull as their authority, and a patent was then granted confirming the exemption. These bulls and patents will be found below in their chronological order.

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[1] The word 'tallage' was derived from the French 'tailler' (a part cut out of the whole). It was a land-tax which ceased to be levied about the year 1332.

In less than six months after the issue of the bull conceding the power to apply the proceeds of a church, another followed granting those privileges upon the possession of which religious houses set so much store, viz. absolute freedom from the control of the bishop of the diocese and all other ecclesiastical authorities whatsoever, privileges which, in the case of the Minories, were retained by the clergy and inhabitants of the precinct long after the Abbey had ceased to exist. The bull[1] is dated August 31, 1295 :—

Boniface, Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to the beloved daughters in Christ, the Abbess and convent of enclosed sisters minors of the monastery of the grace of blessed Virgin Mary, of the Order of St. Clare, in the diocese of London, Greeting and Apostolic blessing. The Roman Church being intrusted with the special custody of monasteries and all ecclesiastical places, watches over them with continual solicitude, listens to their petitions, receives them under her protection, and strengthens them with privileges and various favours. It follows therefore that we, directing with earnest pains the eyes of our mind to your monastery and its members, the report of whose good, pure, honest conversation, and laudable life, and many other virtues comes from reliable witnesses, and intending to bestow on you, and the aforesaid monastery some special favour, receive, in virtue and right of blessed Peter and of the Apostolic See, you and it, with all persons to be initiated successively in the same divine service under the regular habit, the buildings constructed, or to be constructed, within the boundary of the monastery, and all its places, together with all goods which you may reasonably possess at the present moment, and with their rights and appurtenances, releasing you henceforward from all jurisdiction, power and authority of the bishop of London, in whose diocese the aforesaid monastery is situated, and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Metropolitan of the same and their Chapters as well as of any other person whatsoever, ecclesiastical or secular, totally, perpetually, and of express design, and declaring you, and those who shall follow you in the said monastery, together with the aforesaid buildings, places, and goods, to be immediately subject only to the Roman Pontiff and his Church. And as testimony of this grant made over by the said see, you shall pay to us and our successors a pound of wax every year. We decree therefore, that it shall be lawful to no man to infringe or presumptuously to oppose this deed of our reception, exemption, and constitution. And if any shall presume to attempt this, let him know that he will incur the wrath of God and of his Apostles Blessed Peter and Paul.

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[1] Bishop of London's *Register* (Baldock and Gravesend, fol. XVI d.) ; also Sbaralea, J. H., *Bullar. Francis.* tom. iv. p. 365, no. 20 (Latin).

Given at Anagni 11 Kal. Sepr. in the first year of our Pontificate.

On September 18, 1295, only a fortnight subsequent to the issue of the above recited bull, another followed, which seems to indicate that the Abbess and Convent had not availed themselves, as they might have done, of privileges granted, either to the Order in general, or to the particular branch from which they emanated; the short period of their existence as a house, taken in conjunction with the terms in which the alleged neglect is expressed, precludes the idea that it can refer to omission to make use of such privileges as had been made to their community individually:—

Boniface, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved daughters in Christ, the Abbess and convent of the monastery of the Grace of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the Order of St. Clare, in the diocese of London, Greeting and Apostolic Benediction. Whereas, on your part, it has been represented to us that on account of simplicity and ignorance of law, you, and those who preceded you in your monastery, have not made use of certain privileges and indulgences granted to the said monastery by our predecessors, Roman Pontiffs, in times gone by, we, inclining to your petition for the indemnity of the same monastery, desiring to safeguard the future, grant to you the present faculty to make use henceforth, notwithstanding this omission, of the same privileges and indulgences, provided that they may not have been abrogated by prescription, or otherwise by lawful authority. It shall be lawful to no man to infringe this deed of our concession, or presumptuously dare to oppose it. If any shall presume to attempt this let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and his Apostles Blessed Peter and Paul. Given at Anagni Id. Sep. in the first year of our Episcopate.

On March 13 in the year following (1296) another bull was promulgated, which begins by ordaining that the monastery shall be taken over into the right and ownership of the Apostolic See, a somewhat stronger expression than that used in the previous bull of exemption from episcopal and other control.

It then gives directions as to the rule to be observed—the protection of their property, and the inviolability of the vows taken by the sisters, commanding the forcible detention of those who had assumed the veil. It provides for the due performance of the various episcopal functions within the precinct, and for the free election of the Abbess, and secures them from the consequence of interdicts, except when specially imposed on them by the Holy See. It then closes with the heaviest denunciations upon all who should disturb their peace, interfere with their rights, or rob them of anything belonging to them.

The reference to what was, in all probability, the mother house from which they sprung, is interesting, as it is the only allusion to it that we have met with.

The following is a full translation of the text of the bull[1] :—

Confers on them full privileges. Regist. Vatican Epist. 82.

Boniface, Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to our beloved daughters in Christ, the Abbess of the monastery of the Grace of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the sisters of the same present, as well as future, professed in the regular life in perpetuity.

The Monastery is received under the protection of the Apostolic See.

I. It is becoming that those electing the religious life should have the Apostolic protection, lest, by chance, any seized by presumption should recall them from their purpose, or, which God forbid, should weaken the strength of sacred religion, on account of which, beloved daughters in Christ, we, of our clemency, yield to your reasonable petitions, and receive the Monastery of Grace of Blessed Virgin Mary of the Diocese of London, taken by us into the right and ownership of the Apostolic See, to whose divine obedience you are transferred, under the protection of Blessed Peter and of ourselves, and by the authority of the present writing confirm the same.

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[1] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* vol. v. p. 565, no. 11 (Latin).

The possession of goods is confirmed.

II. In the first place, commanding that the order of enclosed sisters Minoresses, which, under the observance of the rule kept in the Monastery of the Humility of Blessed Mary near St. Cloud, in the Diocese of Paris, by the authority of the Apostolic See in the same place, is known to be established, shall be inviolably observed to all time. Further, whatever possessions and goods the same monastery at this present moment legally and canonically possesses, or, in the future, by the grant of the pontiffs, generosity of kings or princes, and the alms of the faithful or other legal means, by the help of God, shall acquire, shall remain secure and unimpaired to you and those who succeed you.

The which belongings we cause to be expressed in name, the place itself, in which the aforesaid monastery is situated, with all its appurtenances, with lands, fields, vineyards, rights of use and pasture in wood and plain, in water and mills and roads and paths, with all its other liberties and franchises.

It is lawful also for you to receive all free and innocent persons fleeing from the world to religion, and to keep them, notwithstanding any objection.

Faculty for the reception of sisters.

III. Further, we forbid any of your sisters, after having made profession in your monastery, to be allowed to leave the same, or, having left it, that any should dare to keep her.

For the consecration of altars, or of your church, or for the holy oil, or for any ecclesiastical sacrament, let none under pretext of custom, or other excuse, presume to extort from you, but all these services the bishop of the diocese shall perform for you, otherwise it shall be lawful for you, by our authority, to receive all these from whatsoever Catholic Bishop you shall prefer, being in grace and communion with the Apostolic See.

Other privileges.

But if the See of the Diocese shall by chance be vacant, you may, in the meantime, receive all ecclesiastical sacraments from neighbouring bishops, freely and without dispute, but this shall not in future create any prejudice against your own bishop.

IV. But in the meantime, if you can obtain no diocesan bishop, if a bishop, as we have said, having grace and communion with the Roman See, of whom you have full knowledge, shall happen to be passing by you, you may, with authority of the Apostolic See, receive from him the benediction of nuns, vessels and vestments and the consecration of altars. And whenever there shall be a general interdict laid on the country, it shall be lawful for you to celebrate divine offices with closed doors, all excommunicated and interdicted persons being excluded, and the bells not being rung, provided that you have not furnished the occasion for the interdict.

Further upon the death of the present Abbess, or any one of those who shall succeed you, let no one surreptitiously by craft or violence be put forward, but her whom the Sisters of the Monastery, by common consent or the majority of wiser counsel, according to God and the above-named rule, shall determine ought to be chosen.

V. Further, if the bishop or other rulers of Churches shall pronounce sentence of suspension, excommunication and interdict against your monastery or the persons serving God there under the rule, we declare it to be not binding against indulgences of the Apostolic See.

VI. Desiring in paternal solicitude to make future provision also for your peace and tranquillity, we prohibit, under apostolic authority, any to dare to commit robbery or theft or arson, to shed blood, to arrest or slay a man, or to do violence within your precincts.

VII. Further by apostolic authority we confirm, and by the authority of the present writing, confirm all liberties and immunities conceded to your order by our predecessors, Roman pontiffs, all liberties, exemptions from secular exactions, reasonably made to you by kings, princes, and other Christian people. We declare also, that it is lawful to no man to presume to disturb the aforesaid monastery, or to carry off its possessions, or to retain those that have been carried off, to diminish them, or to trouble them by any vexations whatsoever, but all their possessions shall be preserved intact, to whose government and for whose maintenance they were granted for all future use, saving the authority of the Apostolic See.

Annual payment.

VIII. You shall pay a pound of wax to us and our successors every year, as an acknowledgment of the liberty received from the Apostolic See

If therefore in future, any ecclesiastical or lay person, having knowledge of this our written constitution, shall rashly attempt to oppose it, on the second or third warning, unless he shall make fit amends for his offence, let him be degraded from his position of power and honour, know himself to be a party answerable to divine judgment for iniquity perpetrated, and become a stranger from the most holy Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the last judgment become subject to severe retribution. But the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all those who preserve its rights to the said place, so that here they may receive the fruit of good works, and at the strict judgment find the reward of eternal peace.

I Boniface Bishop of the Catholic Church have subscribed.

I Gerard [Sabinen: Episcopus] have subscribed.

I John [Tusculan: Episcopus] have subscribed.

I brother [Matthæus Portuen: et Sanctæ Ruffinæ Episcopus] have subscribed.

I brother Hugo [Ostien: et Velletren: Episcopus] have subscribed.

I brother Thomas titular Cardinal Priest of St. Cecilia have subscribed.

I Nicholas titular Cardinal Priest of St. Laurence [in Damaso] have subscribed.

I brother Robert titular Cardinal Priest of St. Potentia have subscribed.

I brother James titular Cardinal Priest of St. Clement have subscribed.

I brother Simon titular Cardinal Priest of St. Balbina have subscribed.

I James Cardinal Deacon of St. Mary in Via lata have subscribed.

I Napoleon Cardinal Deacon of St. Hadrian have subscribed.

I William Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas [in Carcere Tulliano] have subscribed.

I Benedict Cardinal Deacon of SS. Cosma and Damian have subscribed.

I Peter Cardinal Deacon of New St. Mary have subscribed.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, by the hand of Peter, Cardinal Deacon of New St. Mary, and Vice Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, the 3rd of the Ides of March [Indictione IX] in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, one thousand two hundred and ninety six and in the second year of the Pontificate of Pope Boniface VIII.[1]

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[1] Wadding appends a memorandum to the effect that a similar bull on the same day was issued for the Monastery of the Piety of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Waterbeach.

On July 3 of the same year (1296) a bull was promulgated, to which we referred above, freeing all monasteries of the Order from payment of tenths and other contributions.

It is headed,[1]

That they shall not be called upon to furnish tribute or subsidy. Regist. Vatican Epist. 231.

To our beloved daughters in Christ, all Abbesses and Convents of enclosed nuns of the order of St. Clare, whether of St. Damian or those called Minoresses &c. Greeting and Apostolic benediction.

I. The holy religion worthy of all praise, which in your monasteries is continuously practised by you and other persons dwelling in them, under the obligation of voluntary poverty, has by you so banished the allurements of worldly frivolity that, among other things, you, set aside by the bonds of cloistral abstinence, are distinguished by the purity of religious observance of rule, and, crushing the pleasures of your own will wholly under the duty of obedience, you set forth a worthy and zealous service to God.

II. For this reason, we, considering it worthy and fit that we should bestow on you that favour which we perceive to be suitable to your necessities, concede to you jointly and separately, by the authority of these presents, that you shall be in no way bound to pay tithe of whatsoever goods and other possessions you now hold, or shall have acquired by just means, by God's help in time to come, or to contribute to the procurations of any ordinary whatsoever, even of the legates and nuncios of the Apostolic See, or any other tallages and collections, or to pay fees for free passage, toll, and other dues to any kings, princes, or any other secular persons whatsoever, neither may you be in any way constrained to do so. Let none therefore of our concession &c.

Given at Anagni the 4th of the Nones of July, in the second year of our Pontificate.

The Abbess and sisters further succeeded, about the same time, in giving effect to the bull which had been issued on April 6 of the previous year (1295), by obtaining the following licence from the King to enable them to accept from Edmund some land at Hertenden, and the advowson of the church there:—[2]

For the Abbess of the grace of the Blessed Virgin of the order of Saint Clare without the walls of London and the sisters of the same place.

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[1] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* vol. v. p. 573 (Latin).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 24 Ed. I. m. 23 (Latin).

The King to all whom &c. Greeting, we concede and confirm the donation concession and confirmation which Edmund our dearest brother made by his charter to our dearly beloved in Christ the Abbess of the grace of the Blessed Mary of the order of Saint Clare without the walls of London and the sisters of the same place serving and about to serve for ever God there of ten acres of land of his demesne at Hertenden in the County of Derby and the advowson of the church of the same town to be had and held by the same Abbess and sisters and their successors in free pure and perpetual alms by us and our heirs as much as in us lies to the said Abbess and sisters or their successors as the aforesaid charter reasonably witnesseth.

(Then follow the usual clauses rendered necessary by the Statute of Mortmain.)

By the King at Westminster
15 day of December.

Subsequently to the issue of this licence, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield demurred to their possession of this advowson, on the plea that the annual value exceeded the stipulated limit of forty marks. In consequence of the raising of this objection the Abbess appealed to the Pope notwithstanding the excess of value. It was the usual policy of the Holy See to strengthen the power of the religious houses at the expense of the secular clergy ; accordingly the bishop's objection was overruled, and the following bull, dated March 3, 1298, giving effect to the papal decision, was promulgated[1] :—

That they may take possession of the church of Hertenden. Regist. Vatican Epist. 96.

To our beloved daughters in Christ, the Abbess and convent of enclosed sisters of the monastery belonging to the house of the Grace of the Blessed Virgin Mary, pertaining without[2] intermediary to the Roman Church, of the Order of St. Clare, in the diocese of London.

Your petition presented to us asserted that formerly we, benevolently considering the poverty of the rents of your Monastery, and desiring to bestow gracious favour on you, have granted by apostolic authority to you, for your own use, one of the churches, of which heretofore Edmund, brother of our most dear son in Christ, Edward the illustrious king of England, possessed the right of patronage, the fruits, rents, and proceeds of which should attain the annual value of forty marks sterling, the same Edmund, while he yet lived, petitioning us on this matter. To wit, that when this church, by the cession or death of the rector, should happen to become vacant, you might take possession of it on your own authority, the assent of the diocesan of the place or of any other person whatsoever not being required, and freely retain it to your own use in perpetuity, reserving nevertheless of its proceeds a fit portion for the perpetual vicar, who shall serve the same church, out of which he may be comfortably maintained, and discharge episcopal dues and other lawful burdens incumbent on the same church.

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[1] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* vol. v. p. 591, no. 33 (Latin).

[2] This expression does not occur in previous Bulls, and is evidently the direct outcome of the provisions contained in that of March 13, 1296.

The church of Hertenden, however, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, of which the said Edmund held the right of patronage, eventually becoming vacant, you endeavoured, by our authority, to take possession of the said church at Hertenden; but our venerable brother, the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the diocesan of the place, and his officials, asserting that the fruits, rents, and proceeds of the said church of Hertenden exceed the value of forty marks, according to their real value, although according to the taxation of ecclesiastical revenues, lately made in the kingdom of England, they do not exceed the same sum, in many ways annoys and disturbs you respecting the same church. Wherefore you humbly supplicate us to deign to show paternal kindness in this matter. We therefore, desiring to provide for your peace and tranquillity, and to enlarge this grant, concede to you, by the authority of these presents, that you may retain to your own use the same church of Hertenden, provided that, according to the aforesaid taxation, its rents and proceeds do not exceed the annual value of sixty marks, and may take and retain the same by your own authority, if, by chance, you have been deprived of them, reserving an adequate portion out of its proceeds for the aforesaid vicar, according to the tenor of our former concession.

Let none therefore of our concession &c.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on the 5th of the Nones of March in the 4th year. (Of the Pontificate of Pope Boniface VIII.)

A few weeks later, on April 5, 1298, the following bull was issued, directed to all monasteries of the Order, by which the stricter enforcement of discipline was ordained, and the privileges they already possessed were still further enhanced.

Concedes[1] to them all favours and privileges conceded to the Minorites. Spec. Min. tract 2, fol. 44.

To our beloved daughters in Christ, all Abbesses and convents of enclosed sisters of St. Clare, present and future.

I. Your Order, established in the bosom of the Apostolic See, so shines by increase of virtues that it worthily deserves to be distinguished with peculiar favours, and to be cherished with spiritual gifts. We gladly bestow upon the Order prerogatives of favour, and promote the increase of its growth.

II. Our predecessor, Pope Urban IV, of blessed memory, with much forethought instituted your rule, under which you serve God, and, that you may with greater advantage observe it, and lest living under the rule of different persons ye may fall into varying modes of living, he instituted, among other things, that you should in future remain under the obedience, care, and rule of those cardinals, who shall be for the time deputed to the government, protection, and correction of the Order of Friars Minors by the Apostolic See, whom you are straitly bound to obey, and they, taking heed and care of your souls, shall be careful to exercise the office of visitation by themselves, as well as by worthy men, in monasteries of the said holy Order, and over the persons dwelling in them, chaplains, lay members and household servants, as often as it shall seem to them fit, by correction and reformation, both in chief and in part of such things as they may see to need correction and reformation. They shall set up and set down, order and dispose so as, according to God, they may see to be expedient.

III. Since then, by these and other things, between you and the Order of the said Friars Minors, there may be thought to be special agreement, we, desiring that the same order may, with more favourable circumstances, thence increase, and that you may so much the more advantageously render to God your vows, as you may have been endowed by the Apostolic See with more enabling liberties and favours, Grant to you, by apostolic authority, that you and all and singular the monasteries of your order, as much by the privileges of exemption, as all immunities, liberties, and indulgences and other privileges whatsoever, use and enjoy and that you may be free to use and enjoy whatever has been granted by the same See to the aforesaid Order of Friars Minors, and its brethren and members, or in future shall be granted, so far as such privilege of exemption and immunities, liberties, indulgences, and other privileges are possible to you, or are or shall be possible, and so far as you and these monasteries are and shall be capable of them.

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[1] Wadding, *Ann. Min.* vol. v. p. 594, no. 36 (Latin).

Let none therefore of our concession &c.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on the Nones of April in the fourth Year of our Pontificate. (Boniface VIII.)

In the year 1316, just twenty years after the Pope had freed the Abbey from the payment of tallage, a royal patent was issued to the same effect, but, as we have observed above, without any reference to the papal bull. It runs as follows:—

[1] For the sisters Minoresses without Allgate London. The King to all to whom &c. Know that on account of our special devotion which we bear and have to the order of the sisters Minoresses as well as on account of the poverty of the house which is founded of the same Order without Algate London we concede for ourselves and our heirs to the sisters Minoresses of the same house that they and their successors the sisters of the same house shall be quit of tallage by reason of their lands tenements and rents being in our city of London to the use of ourselves and our heirs.

Witness the King at Westminster the 24th of April
By the King himself and his Council.

By a patent[2] dated at Westminster, May 25, 1321, pardon was granted to the Abbess and sisters for having entered upon certain tenements and shops without the King's licence, for which neglect the properties had been taken into the King's hands by 'our beloved and faithful Richard de Rodney, escheator for this side the Trent,' and the licence was thereby granted to the Abbess and sisters to enter into possession of the said properties, which consisted of

one messuage with the appurtenances in London viz.: in the ways which are called Wood Street and Laddlane from the gift and feoffment of Matillda de kellenden, and one messuage three shops and two upper chambers with their appurtenances in the same city in the old fishery London from the gift and feoffment of Alexander Flynchard, and one messuage and twenty two shops in the said city viz.: in the ways which are called Lumbardestreate Abbecherchelane and Shiceburghlane and one messuage with its appurtenances in the Vintry from the gift and feoffment of the executors of the will of Henry le Saleys formerly citizen of London.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 9 Ed. II. part 2, m. 25 (Latin).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 14 Ed. II. part 2, m. 8 (Latin).

Next[1] in chronological order is the grant of exemption from the payment of tenths, to which we have already alluded, petitioned for by the sisters on the strength of the provisions to that effect contained in the papal bull dated July 3, 1296. The petition and its acceptance are recorded as follows[2]:—

To our Lord the King and to his Council pray the poor Minoresses of the Order of S^t^ Clare without Algate London that whereas it was granted to them by the bulls apostolical of the Pope Boniface that on account of their poverty they should be acquitted from tenths and all other charges on their possessions and they by reason of their poverty and the aforesaid bulls have been exempted from paying such tenths and charges granted to our Lord the King and his progenitors May it please you to have regard to their simplicity and poverty and to grant to them that if the Pope shall make any imposition on the Clergy of England or if the said Clergy or the Commons shall grant any tenth or other assessment to the King or his heirs that they and their successors may be quit from such tenths and charges for all time and that their goods may in no wise be taxed by reason of these said grants: For if they are not acquitted from such charges their income will be insufficient for their sustenance.

On this our Lord the King, that now is, directed his letters of Privy Seal to the Chancellor that now is in these words: Edward[3] by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Acquitaine, to the honourable Father in God by the same grace Bishop of Winchester our Chancellor, Greeting. We have sent the enclosed petition addressed to us by our dearly beloved in God the Meneresses of the Order of S^t^ Clare without Algate of London together with a copy of certain letters bulls sent to them by our Father the Pope acquitting them from tenths, contributions and other impositions of the clergy as is therein recited we command you therefore that on the sight of such bull and writings presented to us by the said ladies you cause them to be discharged from the same. For we well understand that such indulgence will be a great charity and assistance in the amendment of their estate.

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[1] 1335. [2] *Parliamentary Petitions*, no. 4931 (French). [3] Edward III.

Given at Westminster under our Privy Seal the XIIII day of October in the ninth year of our reign.

This document is endorsed:—

Let this petition be sent to the Chancellery and there let the bulls be seen and viewed and it shall seem good to the Council that the Chancellor shall make for them the favour the King before commanded by letter of Privy Seal.

A patent[1] dated at the Tower on August 25, 1341, begins by reciting:—

Know that we lately by our letters patent by our special grace and at the request of Isabella Queen of England our dearest Mother also of our beloved cousin and our faithful Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby conceded and gave licence for us and our heirs as much as in us lies to our beloved in Christ the Abbess and sisters of the grace of the blessed Mary of the Order of S^t Clare without Algate London that they may be able to acquire have and hold to themselves and their successors for ever thirty pounds of land per annum up to the true value of the same as well as of their own fee as that of others excepting lands & tenements which are held of us in capite.

The patent then proceeds to confirm this concession and to grant a licence to

our beloved John Whithorn of Dounton John de Brisingham and William de Rydlyngton chaplains that they shall be able to give and assign one messuage one carucate of land five acres of wood with their appurtenances in Chesthurst which is not held of us in capite, as is computed by the inquisition of our beloved William Talmache our Escheator in the Counties of Essex Herford Norfolk Suffolk Cambridge & Huntingdonshire made in accordance with our mandate and returned into our chancellery to the same Abbess and sisters to have and to hold to themselves and their successors for ever to the value of sixty shillings per annum in part satisfaction of the aforesaid thirty pounds of land and rent.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 15 Ed. III. part 2, m. 10 (Latin).

The next year a patent,[1] dated August 26, was issued granting a pardon to the above-named chaplains for having obtained without licence the land, held of the King in capite, from John of Castle Martun and Johanna, his wife.

In 1346 the King's mother obtained for the Abbey three more advowsons, which must have brought to the sisters a considerable increase of income. The patent granting the licence for the bestowal on the one hand, and the reception on the other, of these benefices is specially interesting, as it is the first occasion on which reference is made to the bestowal of a gift upon the Abbey for the purpose of obtaining the prayers of the sisters for the souls of the departed relatives of the donor. Of course it does not necessarily follow that no similar conditions had previously been exacted by others who had given property to the Abbey because no traces thereof are to be found in the royal licences, but the fact that the King here bargains for the prayers of the sisters for his father, and all his predecessors on the throne, affords a very strong reason for presuming that in the past no such compact had been made. It is, therefore, a legitimate inference that the practice, if not more or less a novelty, at least had not approached to the popularity which, at this time, it was beginning to attain. The patent decrees:—

Of[2] our special grace we have granted and give our licence for us and our heirs as much as in us lies to Isabella Queen of England our dearest Mother that she may give and assign the advowsons of the Churches of Kessingland and ffamesden in the County of Suffolk and of Walton[3] upon Trent in the County of Derby which she our Mother acquired of Robert De Mohant knight to our beloved in Christ the sisters Minoresses London to have and to hold to themselves and their successors to pray for the soul of our father and our own and the souls of our progenitors formerly Kings of England as well as all faithful deceased for ever And we likewise give special licence to the same sisters Minoresses that they may be able to receive the aforesaid advowsons from our aforesaid Mother and appropriate those Churches and hold them thus appropriated to their proper uses to themselves and aforesaid successors for ever the aforesaid statute notwithstanding.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 16 Ed. III. part 2, m. 10 (Latin).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 20 Ed. III. part 2, m. 29 (Latin).

[3] Walton does not appear among the possessions of the Abbey at the time of the Dissolution.

Witness the King at Porchester the 21st day of June
By writ of Privy Seal.

From a deed[1] dated August 26, 1359, it appears that possession of the advowson of Kessingland would, in the ordinary course, have descended to William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, and doubts had evidently arisen as to the power of Sir Robert De Mohant to deprive him of his inheritance. To avoid therefore all questions that might arise, he executed this deed, renouncing 'all the right and claim which he had or might have by whatsoever cause in the advowson.'

In 1347 the licence to hold land up to the value of thirty pounds annual rent was confirmed, and a licence given

to[2] our beloved and faithful John de Poulteneye that he may be able to give and assign two messuages one garden thirteen shops and sixteen shillings of rent with their appurtenances in the suburb of London which is not held of us and which is of the value of thirty shillings per ann. beyond reprises as is computed by an inquisition thence taken by our mandate and returned into our Chancellery by our beloved Galfrin de Wyckyngham Mayor of our city of London and our escheator in the same city to the aforesaid Abbess & sisters to have and to hold to themselves & their successors to the value of forty shillings in part satisfaction of the aforesaid thirty pounds of land & rent for ever.

Given at Redynge Feb. 1.

In the same year the patent of exemption from the payment of tallage was renewed by an 'Inspeximus.'[3]

We have inspected letters patent of the lord and late King of England our father in this word &c. [the original patent is recited and the document proceeds] we grant and confirm that the aforesaid concession may be had for us and our heirs as much as in us lies to the aforesaid sisters Minoresses and their successors as is more fully witnessed in the aforesaid letters. Besides we will and grant to our beloved in Christ the Abbess of the same place and the aforesaid sisters to make fuller grace for us and our heirs that they and their successors the sisters of the said house shall be for ever quit of all tallages and aids as well as to the eldest sons of us and our heirs, the making of knights and the marrying of the eldest daughters of us and our aforesaid heirs as other subsidies viz.: tenths and fifteenths, wools, the guarding of maritime lands and other contributions whatsoever separately or in common by us heretofore conceded by reason of lands tenements or rents which they have at the present and of their goods and chattels whatsoever as well within our aforesaid city as elsewhere within our kingdom of England.

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[1] *Rot. Clos.* 23 Ed. III. m. 17, *a tergo* (Latin).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 21 Ed. III. part 1, m. 35 (Latin).

[3] *Rot. Pat.* 21 Ed. III. part 3, m. 33 (Latin).

At Wygor̄n 21st day of Septr

By letters of Privy Seal.

Six years later another patent[1] was issued, reciting the above and adding that the sisters

shall for ever be free as well from tenths and fifteenths by the laity of our kingdom of England as well as of tenths and other contributions by the clergy of the same our kingdom.

Dated at Wyndesore the 23rd day of April.

It was evidently considered doubtful whether the wording of the former patent was sufficiently explicit to cover both these classes of contributors.

In succeeding reigns the grant of these several privileges, with occasional additions thereto, was renewed by 'Inspeximus,' and as all the preceding patents were every time recited *in extenso*, the documents steadily grew to abnormal length.

We are now able to turn for the first time to the other source of information from which we learn whence the Abbey derived its support and sustenance. The will of Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Clare, was proved before Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the church of the sisters

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 27 Ed. III. part 1, m. 5 (Latin).

Minoresses of the Order of St. Clare without Aldgate, London, on Dec. 3, 1360. In it she deposes

> I[1] devise to the house of the sisters menoresses outside Aldgate in London £20, i reliquary of crystal, i large chalice of silver guilt, ii cruets i vestment of cloth of gold and whatsoever belongs to the said vestment and a thousand pearls together with my robe of russet with all the trimmings Also I devise to the same place for a memorial a vestment of [nore] cloth of gold with whatever belongs to it, five cloths of gold, one bed of (nore) turkish with eight tapestries the quantity belonging to the same bed of which the tapestries are attached. Also to the same place six large tapestries of fine linen of one of my other beds and twelve large tapestries of my other bed and twelve tapestries of which the borders have been embroidered with flowers. Also to Sister Katherine de Ingham Abess of the same place £20. Also to each sister of the same Abbey the day of my burial 13^{s} 4^{d}. Also to the four brothers of the same place on the aforesaid day ten marks.

From this, and other subsequent wills, we learn that, in addition to the common fund out of which the general expenses of the community were met, the Abbesses and sisters were allowed to possess some money which was at their own individual disposal. We have also here very distinct proof that, unless the gifts bequeathed by the Countess of Clare were altogether out of keeping with the general character of the Abbey furniture, the latter must have been, by this time, more luxurious than we should have been led to expect from the many references to the poverty of the sisterhood, and that the style of living, at least of the Abbess, must already have widely diverged from the primitive simplicity enjoined by the rules of the Order. We learn further, that brothers as well as sisters were included in the community, though they occupied quite a subordinate position.

The next[2] two royal licences that were issued have reference to a somewhat curious arrangement, by which one religious house contributed out of its funds to the support of another. The first[1] of these is dated at Westminster Nov. 20, 1365, and provides that

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[1] Nichols's *Royal Wills*, p. 22 (French).

[2] Neither of the payments provided for by these licences appears in the Abbey accounts in Henry VII.'s and Henry VIII.'s reigns.

> for 20 shillings which our beloved in Christ the Abbess & sisters Minoresses of the Order of S^t Clare without Algate in the suburb of London have paid to us of our special favour to the same Abbess and sisters, we have granted and given our licence for ourselves and our heirs as much as in us lies to our beloved in Christ the Prior and convent of Shouldham of the Order of Sempyngham in the County of Norfolk that they may be able to give and grant ten marks of rent arising out of all lands and tenements of the same priory and convent in our city of London to the aforesaid Abbess & sisters to have & receive each year at the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist. . . .

Then follow the usual clauses about mortmain, and a proviso that, if the rent were not paid within forty days after it was due, the Prior and convent must pay it themselves. Then, on October 20, of the next year, a licence[2] was granted to the Abbess and sisters, on their own petition, as it is stated, to enable them to pay forty shillings annually out of the ten marks, 'to the Prior and convent of the hospital of the Blessed Mary without Bishopesgate London.'

On June 4, 1375, a licence[3] was granted to enable Richard of Hull, Chaplain, and Simon Hendymon to give and assign two messuages and twenty acres of land and their appurtenances in Hertyngdon, and another plot of four acres and half an acre of meadow land in the same place, the latter being valued at 2s. a year, and the whole at 6s. 8d., 'in part satisfaction of the thirty pounds' annual rent that they had been previously empowered to receive.

In 1377 Richard II came to the throne, and the usual letters patent of 'Inspeximus' were issued. In this document[4] the recital of that of Edward III, bearing date April 23, 1353, reads 'in the 27th year of our reign of England and the 14th of our reign of France.' In the office copy of this earlier patent the King's titles are omitted.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 39 Ed. III. part 2, m. 13 (Latin).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 40 Ed. III. part 2, m. 19 (Latin).

[3] *Rot. Pat.* 49 Ed. III. part 1, m. 15 (Latin).

[4] *Rot. Pat.* 1 Rich. II. part 2, m. 3 (Latin).

A further augmentation of the thirty pounds of annual rent was made in 1379, and in the licence[1] granted for this purpose, which is dated at Westminster on December 10, it is stated that

> Although the said licence [*i.e.* with reference to the holding of rents to the value of £30] did not extend to lands and tenements which were held of our said grandfather the said Abbess and sisters in the time of our said grandfather acquired one tenement with houses built over it which lately belonged to John Cobb citizen and butcher of London in the parish of S^t^ Botolph without Algate London and 13 shillings and 4 pence of rent per ann. arising out of a certain tenement which lately belonged to William Midlane in the parish of S^t^ Stephen de Walbroke adjacent to a certain tenement which lately belonged to William Sernat to be held by the same Abbess & sisters and their successors for ever and to have the right of ingress therein which tenements with the houses built over them at the time of their acquisition by the Abbess & sisters were held of our said Grandfather in burgage We with the consent of our council do pardon the said Abbess & sisters their transgression & forfeiture. . . .

The licence further gives the sisterhood the right to take the rents, which were then estimated to be of the value of 26s. 8d., in part satisfaction of the thirty pounds &c.

By the will[2] of Adam Rous, surgeon and citizen of London, dated April 27, 1379, and proved in the Commissary Court of London in 1383, two shops in the parish of All Hallows, called 'le Mochele,' London, were left to his wife, Juliana, for her life, and after her death 'in perpetual alms to the Abbess and Convent of the Abbey of Minoresses of St. Clare without Algate London in assistance of the poverty of their said house so that they may remember their souls in their divine services.' We can find no trace of a royal licence for granting leave for the bestowal, or for the acceptance of this property. If we are right in assuming, in the absence of any proof to the contrary, that no such licence was issued, we have here a case in which the sisters took possession of property under a will, without the cognisance of the authorities. That they had attempted this on one or two previous occasions, is evidenced by the forfeiture and restoration of property, which they had so obtained.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 3 Rich. II. part 2, m. 29 (Latin).

[2] S.H. Commissary Court of London.

The next licence[1] granted for the benefit of the Abbey is dated at Westminster on October 19, 1391, and is granted

> to John Pountfret citizen & sadler of London Roger Wyngreworth & Edmund Bys citizen and Stockfisshmonger of the same city enfeoffed of a moiety of one messuage one Wharf eleven shillings & sixpence of rent and appurtenances in the aforesaid city that they by the will and consent of a certain Alice Antecroft might give and grant . . . [the said property].

The next licence,[2] dated 1394, affords an illustration of the way in which the stipends of the parochial clergy were depleted, not only for the support of monasteries in England, but also of those abroad. It also gives us an example of the King's readiness to grasp any opportunity that presented itself for arresting this form of leakage of Anglican endowments for the benefit of foreigners. The licence is granted to

> our beloved in Christ the Prior and convent of the alien house of S^t Andrew Norhampton that they may be able to give and grant the advowson of the Church of Potton in the diocese of Lincoln to our beloved &c. the aforesaid statute that lands and tenements should not fall into dead hands notwithstanding and the aforesaid Priory is in our hands by occasion of the war between us and the French. . . .

Two years later 1395, they received a donation of £5 in cash, left to them by Lady Alice West, who was a daughter of Reginald Fitz Piers, Baron of Walverly in Worcestershire, and widow of Sir Thomas West, under the following bequest[3]:—

> I Alice West lady of hynton Martel . . . bequeath to the Religiouse Women the Minoresses dwellynge withoute Algate of London C^s to be departed among them by euene portion for to synge and rede and to praye diuine service for my lordes soule

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 15 Rich. II. part 1, m. 17 (Latin).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 18 Rich. II. part 2, m. 1 (Latin).

[3] S.H. Rous, 4, p. 29.

Ser Thomas West and myne and all cristine soules and for the estates of Thomas my sone and Johane his wyf and for her children.

A sum [1] of £100 was also bequeathed to them, under the will of John of Gaunt, dated Feb. 3, 1397.

The next licence [2] was issued to

Richard Walsh clothworker London that he may give and grant one messuage & three shops with the appurtenances in the hamlet of the blessed Mary de Matefelon in the County of Middlesex which is not held of us to Christina who was the wife of John Bythwoode senior formerly citizen Tymbermonger London to be held for the whole life of the same Christina, and for a quarter of a year after the death of the same Christina immediately following So that after the death of the same Christina & the fourth aforesaid the messuage & aforesaid shops with the appurtenances shall remain to the Abbess and convent of the Order of S^t^ Clare without Algate London for the making to be celebrated every year for ever the annual services of the said John & Christina after the death of the said Christina and a quarter of a year as aforesaid viz.: the anniversary of the said John on the day on which he died & the anniversary of the said Christina on the day that it shall happen that she shall die in the Church of S^t^ Botolph without Algate London with 'Placebo' and 'Dirige' with music on the night preceding the aforesaid days and a requiem mass on the same days likewise with music and thirty masses in the house or church of the brotherhood of the Order of S^t^ Augustine London for the soul of the said John on the day on which the anniversary shall be and for the soul of the said Christina on the day on which the anniversary of the said Christina shall happen to be celebrated Also for the saying of 'Placebo' and 'Dirige' and a requiem mass after the death of the said Christina and a quarter of a year aforesaid every quarter of a year for ten years immediately following to be had or held by the aforesaid Abbess & convent & their successors for ever for the making sustaining & supporting the aforesaid burdens in the aforesaid form &c.

Witness the King at West^r^ 27th of July.

Notwithstanding the apparent completeness of this licence, they were brought to book for not applying for another, when the time came for entering into possession, and they had to sue for, and obtain, a licence of pardon for their transgression. Eventually they forfeited the property in question, in consequence of their failure to comply with the conditions on which it was granted to them. This we learn from an 'Inquisitio post mortem,'[1] bearing date Nov. 1, 1468, and our curiosity is naturally aroused as to how many other souls of benefactors were forgotten, when no relations remained to refresh the sisters' memories.

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[1] Nichols's *Royal Wills*, p. 153 (French).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 21 Rich. II. part 1, m. 21 (Latin).

The 'Inquisitio,' after reciting the terms of the gift as given above (adding, however, the name of the property 'le hertishorn') continues

> And if the said Abbess and convent should desist in any condition on account of these deceased that then it should be lawful for the aforesaid Nicholas Walsh & his heirs to re-enter into the messuage & shops with their appurtenances and retain the same for himself and his heirs for ever by virtue of which gift and concession the said Christina was thence seized in her demesne as of free tenure and died after whose death and a quarter of a year the said late Abbess and convent entered into the messuage & shops aforesaid with the appurtenances and thence were seized in their demesne as of fee in right of their aforesaid church. Afterwards the aforesaid Nicholas died without an heir of his own body begotten after whose death a certain William Walsh as next of kin and heir of the same Nicholas viz.: the son of William the brother of the same Nicholas by reason that the same late Abbess and her successors the Abbess of the house and Church aforesaid and convent of the same place had continuously desisted and ceased in making sustaining and supporting the anniversaries and other aforesaid burdens in the above said form for a long time viz.: for twenty-six years and more and had not at all made the same to be sustained and supported during that time entered into the messuage and shops aforesaid and hence was seized in demesne as of fee. And the same William being thus seized of the aforesaid messuage & shops with the appurtenances sold them &c.

Notwithstanding the dereliction of duty which this Inquisitio reveals, the bestowal of gifts and possessions on the Abbey continued with undiminished regularity, and, what is

[1] *I.P.M.* 7 Ed. IV. No. 51 (Latin).

more curious still, the sisters managed somehow to obtain possession of 'le hertishorn' again, for in 1488 they were receiving the rents from it.

Elinor de Bohun, wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, by will,[1] dated Aug. 9, 1399, devised to the Abbess and convent £6 13*s*. 4*d*. and a tun of good wine, 'also,' the will continues,

> I devise to Madam & Mother the Countess of Erford a pair of 'Pater nosters' of coral of 50 beads, five trinkets of gold in the pattern of wild vine branches And in case that the said lady should die before my gift I devise the said 'Pater nosters' to the Abbess of the Church of the sisters Minoresses aforesaid, whoever may be dwelling in the same Abbey for their benefit as a memorial of me Also I devise to my daughter Isabel sister of the aforesaid Minoresses a bed of cloth of gold of Cyprus partly black & red with the entire belongings, tester, coverlid, curtains and tapestries Also a Bible of French in two volumes with two clasps of gold enamelled with the arms of France Also a book of decretals in French, Also a mixed history Also a book 'de vitis patrum' & the pastorals of S^t^ Gregory Also an old Psalter down to the nocturn of 'Exultate' illuminated, another new book copied from the first 'Domini exaudi' down to 'Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum' Also £40 in money Also a girdle of black leather with a buckle and pendant and twelve round and plain [barres] of gold which belonged to my lord and husband.

In 1399 a further advantage was taken of the war with France to enrich the Minories at the expense of another foreign house, though, in the first instance, the arrangement was of a temporary character only. The licence[2] containing the grant commits to the Abbess and sisters

> the custody of the manor called the Alien Priory[3] of Appildrecombe with the appurtenances of the same manor to be had

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[1] Nichols's *Royal Wills*, p. 177 (French).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 1 Henry IV. part 1, m. 10 (Latin).

[3] In the Isle of Wight. This Priory was a cell attached to the Abbey of St. Mary Montbury in Normandy. According to Dugdale, in consequence of the wars with France at that time, the establishment at Appuldercombe was so depleted that only a Prior and two monks remained, and were removed by the King, first to the Abbey of Hyde, and then to some tenements belonging to the Abbot of Montbury, in right of a prebend which he held in the Cathedral of Salisbury.

and held during the war being waged between us and those of France without rendering anything to us. Provided that always the said Abbess & convent shall sustain the houses edifices enclosed lands gardens and woods to the same manor belonging and performing all other burdens incumbent to the same manor and shall support the same as long as they have the custody aforesaid. And further of our abundant favour we grant and give our licence for us and our heirs as much as in us lies to the Abbot and convent of Mountesburgh in Normandy that they may give and grant &c.

Witness the King at West^r the 25th day of October
By letters of Privy Seal.

The next year, the 2nd of Henry IV's reign, the usual confirmation by 'Inspeximus'[1] of the Abbey privileges was issued, with the important addition

And further of our further favour we grant to the same Abbess & sisters that they and their successors for ever shall have this liberty viz.: that no Justice mayor sheriff bailiff coroner Escheator Serjant Constable Beadle or other Officer or Minister whatsoever shall exercise or cause to be exercised any jurisdiction whatsoever as by summons distraint or arrest or any other jurisdiction within the close or precinct of the said Abbey excepting for treason and felony touching our crown.

At West^r Sep^r 8th.

It was to this patent that the Minories owed, as far as civil matters were concerned, its rights and privileges as a 'Peculiar,' long after the Abbey had ceased to be the abode of the sisters Minoresses. The ecclesiastical exemptions were founded upon Pope Boniface's bulls.

The next addition to the possessions of the Abbey was obtained under the will[2] of John Buwenhale, alias Plot, citizen maltmonger of London, which was proved in 1408 and declares

also I give and bequeath to Lady Margaret Holmystede Abbess of the house of S^t Clare of the order of Minoresses without Algate in the Suberbs of London & the convent of the same place and to the sisters their successors my whole tenement with two shops & all their appurtenances in the parish of S. Andrew above Cornhull [the adjoining property is here described] to be held by the same Abbess & convent and the sisters their successors for the time being for ever in perpetual alms to pray for my soul and the souls of his (*sic*) ancestors and of his late wife Alice.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 2 Hen. IV. part 4, m. 7 (Latin).
[2] S.H. Commissary Court of London.

(One shop was to remain in the hands of the tenant for one year rent free, and the other for the tenant's life.) For this addition to the property of the Abbey again we find no corresponding licence.

At the commencement of Henry V's reign the customary 'Inspeximus'[1] was issued, reciting and confirming the privileges granted by his predecessors, including the temporary grant of the manor of Appuldercombe, the document closing with an unusual addition to the formula 'by the King himself' viz. 'and 40 shillings paid into the hanaper.'

During the lifetime of the Abbess Isabella of Gloucester, a special allowance was made to the sisterhood, for the purpose, no doubt, of enabling so great a lady to keep up the state becoming her rank, notwithstanding that she had taken upon herself the vows, and assumed the garb, of a 'Soror Minor.' The patent[2] assigning the same states that

of our special favour we have granted and have given licence for ourselves and our heirs as much as in us lies to the venerable fathers Henry Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of all England Henry Bishop of Winchester Thomas Bishop of Durham Ralph Earl of Westmorland our dearest cousin Henry Fitz Hugh our chamberlain & Walter Hungerford Seneschal of our mansion Knights and John Wodehouse & John Lamenthorp Esquires that they or their heirs may give and grant a certain annual rent of 26 marks arising out of the Manor of Wetherfelde with appurtenances in the County of Essex which is held of us in capite to our beloved in Christ Isabella of Gloucestre Abbess of the house of Minorisses without Algate London and the convent of the same place to be had and received by the same Abbess and convent and their successors for the whole life of the same Isabella &c.

The money was to be paid quarterly, and powers were given to distrain if the payments were in arrear.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 1 Hen. V. part 4, m. 25.

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 9 Hen. V. part 1, m. 14.

The 'Inspeximus'[1] of Henry VI, which, however, did not appear till that monarch had been five years on the throne, has a special interest of its own, in that, for the first time, Parliament is included as a consenting party to its issue, and it is also apparently the last inspeximus relating to this Abbey on the patent rolls.

> We accept approve ratify and confirm the said letters of our aforesaid father concerning the same liberties and quittances not revoked by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of our kingdom of England in our Parliament being held at Westminster in the first year of our reign as the aforesaid letters patent reasonably witness and as the same Abbess and sisters Minoresses of the aforesaid place and their predecessors have been accustomed aforetime reasonably to use and enjoy the aforesaid liberties and quittances & of every of them.
>
> Witness the King at Westminster the 28th of January
>
> By the King himself & his Council in Parliament.

Sir John Chadworth[2] by will, dated February 1429, gave 'to the Abbess & convent of the house of S^t^ Clare, of the Minoress without Aldgate London, a tenement in the parish of S^t^ Bartholomew the less London for ever to pray for the soul of Bartholde Boyan and Johan his wife.' This is another instance of a tenement being bequeathed to the Abbey, and there being no trace of a licence for its acceptance.

In 1444 the grant of the manor of Appuldercombe was made permanent, and as the reasons for the bestowal of this further favour are set out therein, we give the patent[3] in full,

> The King to all to whom &c. Greeting, Know that since on the eleventh day of July in the seventh year of our reign it was given to us and our council to know by our beloved in Christ the Abbess and convent of the sisters Minorisses without Algate of our city of London that our dearest lord and grandfather Henry the fourth late King of England deceased of his alms and special favour and in consideration of the great poverty and want of the aforesaid sisters and house by his letters patent granted to the Abbess and convent of the same place and their successors the

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 5 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 15 (Latin).

[2] Strype, vol. i. p. 689.

[3] *Rot. Pat.* 22 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 8 (Latin).

custody of the manor called the Priory of Appildrecombe with its belongings and appurtenances to be had and held to them and their successors in relief of their said house and in increase of divine service there during the war between our kingdoms of England and France without anything being paid by them or their heirs for the aforesaid custody That also the same our grandfather by his letters patent granted and gave licence for himself and his heirs to the Abbot and convent of Mountesburgh in our Dukedom of Normandy, which is the chief house of the same priory that they might give the same manor or priory with all its belongings and appurtenances to the same Abbess and convent to be had and held by them and their successors any statute passed against holding lands and tenements in dead hands notwithstanding as in the letters patent is more plainly contained which grant and concession our dearest lord and deceased father considering on account of the great affection which he had to the said Abbess and convent ratified and confirmed in accordance with the effect & tenour of the same by virtue of which gift and concession and licence the aforesaid Abbess and convent and their predecessors were for a long time in possession of the said manor or priory and on the eleventh day of July were treating and bargaining with the aforesaid Abbot and convent of Mountesburgh for the acquisition of the said manor or priory on account of the great cost and insupportable charges as well as in the county of Normandy as in England by the sustaining and repair of the messuages of the manor or priory aforesaid, and if the said manor and priory should be taken from the said sisters Minorisses their house would be for ever prejudiced and ruined. We in consideration of the premises and because the said house of sisters Minorisses is of the foundation of our progenitors and of our patronage and as the said manor and priory is the half of their sustenance as they said on the eleventh of July of our special grace and by the assent of our aforesaid council we pardon and release the aforesaid then Abbess and convent of all and singular profits and outcomes of debts rents arrears whatsoever by occasion of the occupation of the said manor or priory of Appildrecombe with the appurtenances in whatever manner received and owed by the same Abbess and convent and their predecessors And further of our further favour and assent aforesaid we grant to the said Abbess and convent and their successors the aforesaid manor or priory with the appurtenances to be had by them and their successors from the afforesaid eleventh day of July without any repayment with all right and appurtenances whatsoever to the same manor or priory pertaining

(the powers granted formerly to the Abbot of re-entry are revoked)

We considering the premises and that divine service within the church of the same Abbess and convent shall in no way perish or decrease but that it may more especially grow and increase we ratify and approve and confirm these letters patent. And further of our further favour and of our certain knowledge and of our mere motion we have granted and by these letters patent grant to the said now Abbess and convent the manor or priory aforesaid with the appurtenances and with all appartments parcels rights rents profits commodities and emoluments whatsoever to the same manor or priory in any way pertaining or appertaining together with all and every outgoings profits rents &c. and in every way and at any time received or delivered as well as by the present Abbess & convent or by their predecessors before the giving of these presents to be had and held by the present Abbess and convent and their successors in sustentation and augmentation of divine service within the aforesaid Abbey for ever without any account or any other payment being made to us or our successors. The statute of mortmain or any other ordinance or act before this time passed or any other cause notwithstanding. And further of our further grace we have pardoned remitted and released to the same Abbess and convent and their successors all and every outgoings rent reversions profits and emoluments of the said manor or priory aforesaid before the giving of these presents coming and accruing and also all accompts actions citations demands the use of which we have had or might have had

(then follow the usual clauses providing against interference by any persons or authorities whatsoever).

Witness the King at West^{r} the 2nd of December
By letters of Privy Seal and of the aforesaid authority of Parlament and for ten marks paid into the hanaper.

This lengthy document gives very clear evidence of the capacity of the Minoresses for making the most of their so-called poverty, and, on the other hand, of the estimation in which they were held as a religious institution. The King and the Council took their word without inquiry, though it was somewhat of an exaggeration to assert that half their income was derived from the manor of Appuldercombe, but there was no Charity Organisation Society in those days to raise doubts, either as to the strict accuracy of the statements of the sisters, or as to the intrinsic usefulness of the institution.

In the next reign they had to obtain a re-grant of this manor, the patent[1] being a repetition, almost verbatim, of that previously obtained.

In 1481 a licence,[2] the last of the kind we have to record, was issued

> to Richard Humphrey that he may give and grant to Johanna Barton Abbess of the aforesaid monastery or Abbey and the convent of the same place one messuage and three shops with all their appurtenances in the parish and township of the Blessed Mary de Matfalen in the County of Middlesex which is not held of us to be had and held by them and their successors for ever to pray for the souls of the aforesaid Richard and Mary his wife and for the souls of their parents and all the benefactors of Richard and Mary. . . .
>
> Witness the King at West^r 4^th day of November
> By letters of Privy seal &c.

The patents and wills which we have been able to chronicle show very clearly that most, if not all, of the gifts bestowed upon the Abbey from the time of Edward III onward were given, not solely from motives of charity, but for the purpose of obtaining the prayers of the sisters for the soul's peace and the happiness of the donors in the other world. In 1491, however, it occurred to the then Bishop of Ely to obtain prayers for his soul in a more roundabout way, and one which cost him nothing beyond the value of the paper on which his *quid pro quo* was recorded. The following is the document, by the issue of which he sought to attain his object:—

> An[3] indulgence of 40 days is granted to the visitors and repairers of the Monastery of S^t Clare near Algate London commonly called the Minores or to those who maintain lamps and ornaments there. Also to those to whom the Abbess or any nun shall give a chaplet

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 1 Ed. IV. part 2, m. 8 (Latin).

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 20 Ed. IV. part 2, m. 18 (Latin).

[3] Bp. John Alcock's *Register*, fol. 77, Ely diocese. Cole transcripts B.M. Add. MS. 5827, fol. 30 (Latin).

or belt [of beads], for each entire psalter of Blessed Mary which they shall say upon it adding at the end of each psalter, God have mercy upon John Bishop of Ely's soul that granted this indulgence. And to those who wear these belts whilst they are present at divine service an indulgence of 20 days is granted each time.

Although, subsequently to 1481, we are able to glean nothing further from the patent rolls in reference to gifts made to the Abbey, from various wills we learn that the steady flow of charity, by which the coffers of the sisters were replenished, still continued. Lady Talbot, whose will[1] was made on January 18 and proved on October 4, 1504, therein makes the following provisions :

I dame Jane Talbott late the wife of Sir humfrey Talbott knyght . . . bequeath . . . my body to be buried wthin the Inner choer of the churche of the mynores wthoute Algate of London nȳgh the place and sepulture where the body of mistres Anne Mongomery late the wife of John mongomery Squyer resteth and is buried wthin the same quere. also I will that myn executors bye and cause A convenyent stone to be layde upon my sepulture and grave where my said body shall lye and rest. In the which stone I will there be made the picture of a dede corse in his wynding shete wth scochyns of the armes of the said Sir humfrey my husband and title and writting underneath desiryng all good cristen people to pray for my soule whose body ys buried under the said stone. And over that I bequeath to the high awter of the said church of the mynores xx^{s} of sterling money for my tithes and oblacions myssed and forgotten & . . . & to the Abbess of the Mynores aforesaid xiii^{s} iiii^{d} and to eu^{r}y lady and suster professed wthin the same place of the mynores at the day of my buryal xx^{d} and to eu^{r}y lady called white heddes or novice xii^{d} . . . also for the expenses of the funeral torches &c. at the burial & month mind & for distribution to the poor, also to the foresaid abbes and convent for reparation of their church or for anything other necessary or nedeful to be done to these and profitt of their said house of the meneres vi^{l} xiii^{s} iiii^{d} . . . ffelthermore I bequeath freely unto my lady Elizabeth Duches of Norff: . . . in remembrance that it may please her to be as speciall gode lady unto my soule after my decesse as she hath been unto my body in the present transitory lief.

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[1] S. H. Holgrave, 38.

Similar bequests were made about the same time by Elizabeth Brakkynbury. In her will,[1] proved November 1, 1504, she deposes:

> I Elizabeth Brakkynbury doughter and heir to Robert Brakkynbury[2] knyght beyng of goode and hole mynd bequeath . . . my body to be buried wthin the monastery of the house of mynoreys wthout Algate of London if it please god me for to dye there or nygth the said place also I give & bequeath to the high awter of the said monastery for mȳn offering xv^{l}

(the rest of her property was to go to the Duchess of Norfolk and a doctor Tosyn).

A M^{rs} Joysse Lee, a widow, in 1507 also bequeathed[3] her body to be buried

> by the licence of my lady Abbesse . . . in the choer of the church of the minoresse of London also nygh to the buriall of my lady Talbott as conveniently may be

and there was to be paid at her burial to

> my lady Abbesse iii^{s} iiii^{d} and the president iii^{s} iiii^{d} and every lady professed xv^{d} and the other not professed xii^{d}.

Nicholas Shelton[4] in 1514 bequeathed 'to Dorothy Cumberford xl^{s} the Nonne of the Mynores & to the church of the Mynores xl^{s} & to Thomas Cumberford my sone in law xl^{s}.'

By her will,[5] proved May 15, 1515,[6] Margaret, Duchess of Suffolk, bequeathed to 'her daughter in the minories one standing cup.'

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[1] S.H. Holgrave, 21.

[2] Sir Robert Brackenbury was killed at Bosworth in 1485. He was the son of Thomas Brackenbury, of Denton, Durham, who came of an ancient family, lords of the manors of Burne Hall, Denton, and Selaby, in the immediate neighbourhood of Barnard Castle. He was Constable of the Tower at the time of the murder of the two Princes, but is said to have refused to act as murderer, and by Richard's order delivered up the keys of the Tower to Sir James Tyrell, who carried out the murder. All his grants from Richard III. were confiscated, but in 1489 an Act was passed annulling the attainder in favour of his two daughters Anne and Elizabeth, with remainder to his illegitimate son (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*).

[3] S.H. Adeane, 22.

[4] S.H. Holder, 21.

[5] S.H. Holder, 6.

[6] It was in this year that, we learn from Stowe, 'a plague of pestilence being in this city, there died in this house of nuns professed to the number of 27 besides other lay people, servants in their house.'

The will[1] of Sir John Brigge, knight, Alderman of London, dated April 14, 1530, and proved October 30 of the same year, is specially interesting, as it gives us the one solitary picture that we possess, though it is but a glimpse, of the home life of the sisterhood. We have drawn our inferences from many another will, and from the patent rolls, as to what were the rules, occupations, and style of living that dominated the community. From these we have learned that prayer, worship, and devotion occupied a large place in the daily lives of the sisters, and, in early times at least, stern austerities were practised for the subjection of the flesh to the spirit, and for the annihilation of all worldly desires: but by degrees some at least of the luxuries of the wealthy were admitted without scruple, the product, if not the cause, of a less unswerving asceticism. Here, however, we see another phase of the monastic life. The sisters have erected a new infirmary, possibly intended[2] for patients from the world outside, but the funds have run short, it is unfinished, and there is no furniture. A kindly widower, well to do, who has no doubt sought their prayers on behalf of the wife, the three daughters, and the son who have passed away, comes to the rescue. He takes at once the work in hand, and makes provision for its completion, in the event of his not living to see it finished. He provides that the most should be made of the new building; in turn, as may be needed, it is to be the hospital, the oratory, and the drying room on washing days, a somewhat strange combination, but expressing the quiet homeliness and simplicity that must still have characterised the lives of the sisterhood as a body, leading us to the supposition that such luxury as had penetrated within the Abbey had not reached far beyond the apartments of the Abbess, and was not shared by the community at large. The will, as far as it relates to our subject, is as follows:—

I bequeath my body to be buried in the parish church of Saint Nicholas Acton of London in the place where my good wiff my three doughters and my son byn buryed. . . . Allso I have byn diuers tymes now of late at the minoris and I have ꝑceyvid that the pore

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[1] S.H. Jankyn, 21.

[2] See above, p. 17.

> nonnes haue greate necessite of the fermary now made and the things most nedfull to it not fynisshed nor doon wherefore I determen my full mynde to doo make a gallary out of their dormetarye to the new fermery Substancially wrought and clenly for the Rome which is xxxvii fotte from wall to wall And also to sele the fermery Aboue round aboute up and downe which wilbe 1600 fote up and downe or theraboute and make there windous to it convenient and xii Beddys of flanders making to be set up as they nede them and taken them away and lay them by when they nede them not that they may have the rome to be in contemplācon there byfore the Aulter or other wise occupye it when they will drye their lynyn that shalnot nede to be hanged in syght to thentente they may be the more quiett amōgs them selffs and Allso the Rose to be solid with lyme and here Allso likewise for the under part of the fermorye the haulf of that to be made as that a boue in euery thing and borded under fotte and bedds nedfull And aulter to the same With a partician a twarste ouer and the tother part is for the kychēn that to be pavid all that necessarye nede to be made to it and the closse house to the same for be neth and above to be closid according All to the honour of god all which I trust in god to doo by myn own handes if not I will myn executors see it doon Immediatially after my deceas.

In 1519[1] Henry VIII paid ‘to Sir W^{m} Holgill, towards the building of the Minories London, £200,’ and it is not improbable that some of this donation had been expended upon the erection of the new Infirmary, and the sisters, having spent the whole of the gift on stone and mortar, hoped, not vainly, that further charitable assistance would in due time enable them to complete the fittings and furnishing.

In 1534 Dame Mary Reading made the following dispositions in her will:[2]

> I bequeath my body to be buried wthin the monastery of the Susters minours in the subburbes of London unto which ladies and susters I do giue & bequeath o̅o̅n coppe of golde there to be used to the lawde and praise of god where I wolde shulde be kept for my soule a trentall wth daily placebo durge and masse by note by the space of thirty days folowing my buriall & to my priest his whole yeres wages iii^{l} vi^{s} viii^{d} . . . Item I will that a priest be founde to sing for myn soule for the space of xx years.

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[1] *S.P.* Hen. VIII. vol. iii. part 2.

[2] S.H. Hogan, 22.

Richard Nele, citizen and ironmonger, by his will,[1] dated August 2, 1538, bequeathed

> to the Lady Abbes and convent of the Monastery called the menorysse in the Suburbys of London x^{s}. And to the ffryers there to be equally deuyded between them xx^{d} And to the po^{r} and meny servants as well men as women belonging unto the said Monastery to be deuyded among theym by the discression of the sayd Lady Abbess other xx^{d} . . . and to his doughter[2] Barbara Nele being a professed Nune in the foresayd monastery a lytle pott of syluer wth two crys ꝑcell gylt and also in mony xx^{s}.

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[1] S.H. Dingley, 33.

[2] See the list of the sisters at the time of the Dissolution of the Abbey.

CHAPTER IV

THE ABBEY (*continued*)

The Abbey property and revenues—The rent collector's balance sheet for the year 1488—The official valuation at the time of the Dissolution—Receipts for quit rents, 1525 and 1527

In addition to the records that we have been able to chronicle above, setting forth to a considerable extent the sources from which the Abbey received the endowments, which had been steadily accumulated by successive Abbesses, two other documents are extant which together contain the entire accounts of the property and revenues possessed by the sisterhood during the latter years of its existence. One is the Rent Collector's balance sheet for the Middlesex property, for the year 1488, and the other the official return of the value of the whole property of the Abbey at the time of the Dissolution.

Oddly enough, the details contained in the former are omitted from the latter and *vice versa*, the two together supplying a complete statement of the entire estate. The following is the earlier of the two :—

The account[1] of Thomas Backer rent collector for the Abbess & Sisters of the Minoresses without Algate London for one whole year from the feast of S^t^ Michael the Archangel in the third year of King Henry VII^th^ to the feast of S^t^ M. A. next following in the fourth year of the said King.

	£	s.	d.
Quit rents			
From[2] the Prior of Newark	0	4	0
Elsingspitell	0	2	6½
Beatrice Whitwell	0	11	6
Hereditaments & tenements			
Held by John Berneys	0	3	7½
Robert Parys	0	0	10½
Wyssingsettes	0	3	7½
Wardens of London Bridge	1	0	0
Total	£2	6	2

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[1] R.O. *Ministers' Accounts*, Henry VII., No. 395 (Latin).

[2] The receipt for this rent for the year 1524 is preserved in the British Museum. See below, p. 65.

	£	s.	d.
Oldfysstrete			
Gerard Daniel fishmonger	2	0	0
John Grosse do.	2	0	0
Thomas Gylberd do.	2	0	0
Agnes Lesshe	0	8	0
Total	£6	8	0
Woodstrete			
William Bilney	2	6	8
Henry Gery Barter	1	6	8
Total	£3	13	4
Laddelane			
William Bettys	0	13	4
Rumbold Van Cowdale for a chamber	0	4	0
Page Capper for a chamber	0	5	0
John Byrdde late Christopher Adysse	0	10	0
Themesyn Wardde	0	10	0
Richard Hugh fustianne sherar	0	10	0
Charles Morland	1	0	0
Gerard Cobler	1	0	0
John Harryes Botcher	1	0	0
Total	£5	12	4
S^t^ Laurence Lane			
Gilbert Palmer	4	6	8
Radulph London mercer	4	0	0
William Millar	2	6	8
William Welbeck	2	6	8
Total	£13	0	0
Hosyer Lane			
John ffuller mercer for two shops	0	6	8
the same John for a tenement annexed	3	8	0
Robert Wymond mercer	1	6	8
Richard Estgate mercer	2	0	0
Thomas lokke mercer	5	6	0
Hugh Browne mercer	5	18	0
Total	£18	5	4
Dowgate			
Roger Sucnell carpenter	2	0	0
Mark King texter	1	13	4
Edmund Pyerson texter	1	13	4
William Bottes capper	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
John Caryngton smith	1	13	4
Thomas Maskall late Thomas Watson	0	13	4
William Alford	0	13	4
John Harwode carpenter	0	10	0
Thomas Todde for a stable	0	6	8
William Bottes for a stable	0	6	8
Thomas Manner sawyer	0	10	0
William Coleman tiler	0	6	8
Margaret Shefeld	0	10	0
William Shirland late Alice Rufford	0	6	8
Simon Trymmesby piper	0	4	0
Johanna Adams widow	0	4	0
Simon Orvey sherman	0	4	0
Richard Robinson	0	4	0
Thomas Morland for a cellar	0	13	4
for one storehouse	0	1	8
Total	£13	14	4
Vyntree			
Richard Lecarnnyms	2	0	0
Abchirchelane			
Conrade Tysshmaker	1	10	0
Thomas Boke	1	6	8
Browne Suler	1	6	8
Luke Purkesynder	1	6	8
Matthew Brayneson	1	6	8
Luke Cribbe	1	6	8
John Van nakke	1	6	8
John Botcher	1	0	0
William ffaux	1	0	0
William Sybille	1	6	8
the same William Sybille	1	13	4
Total	£14	10	0
Lumbard Streete			
James Van Zand	5	0	0
John Percyvall	12	0	0
John Caffa	3	6	8
Richard Andrew hosyer	2	16	8
Richard Hayward Barber	3	0	0
George M coll	2	0	0
Total	£28	3	4

	£	s.	d.
Sithborne Lane			
Thomas Haecher sherman	2	0	0
Johanna hogge widow	0	13	4
Roger Gardyner	0	13	4
Henry Sandon	0	13	4
Norton	0	13	4
John White	0	13	4
Thomas Machyn brewer	0	13	4
Total[1]	4	15	0
Oystergate			
Richard Knyght fishmonger	6	13	4
Lothbury			
John Dryland	1	10	0
Within the Close			
Philipp ffitzbowys steward	2	0	0
Thomas Richard	0	16	8
Elizabeth Billington	2	0	0
John Braye	2	0	0
Thomas Lawney	2	0	0
John fferys armiger	3	0	0
The Lady Duchess of Norfolk for the great house	10	0	0
John Cornisshe	2	0	0
The Lady — Edwarde	2	0	0
Richard Barker tailor	0	16	0
Henry Chicheley for a tenement called the Stewards house	1	13	4
Total	28	6	0
In addition to these sums he had received			
from back rents	13	4	6
for a tenement called hortishorne for ¾ of a year	6	0	0
and due from himself on the previous account	3	5	3¼
Grand Total	£171	6	11¼

On the other side of the balance sheet are the following items :—

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[1] There is an error here in the addition of 1*l*. 5*s*.

	£	s.	d.
Quit rents not paid amounting to	0	19	7½
Quit rents paid			
To the Abbot of Bermondsey chargeable upon a tenement in Dowgate	2	13	4
To the Abbot of Christ Church Canterbury chargeable upon a tenement in hosier lane	1	0	0
To the Prior of Christ Church London	0	17	10½
To the Master of S^t Katherine near the Tower of London	0	7	0
p^d at Guildhall London chargeable upon three shops in Oldfish street	0	4	0
To the Prior of S^t Bartholomew West Smithfield chargeable upon a tenement in the parish of S^t Laurence	0	0	8
To the Prior of the Hospital of Elsing chargeable upon a tenement in hosyer lane	0	8	8
And of VI^d paid to the same prior for one post through the negligence of a certain carpenter placed above the land of that same prior	0	0	6
To the Prioress of S^t Elen London chargeable upon a tenement in the Parish of S^t Botolph Algate	0	5	0
To the wardens of the Church of S^t Trinity London chargeable upon a tenement in the Parish of S^t Nicholas Coleabbey in the old fish market London	1	1	3
To the Rector & Churchwardens of S^t Pancras London	0	13	4
To the Chamberlain of S^t Peter Westminster chargeable upon a great house in S^t Magnus London	0	0	10
To the Master of the hospital of S^t Thomas in Suthwarke chargeable on a tenement situated in Pater Noster Rowe	0	8	0
Total	8	0	5½
Tenements & chambers empty	11	5	6
Money received by the Abbess & Treasurer [being the rents of the more important houses within the close]	22	10	0
Money in the hands of tenants	16	19	10
Total of the above [1]	59	15	5

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[1] The addition here is also at fault.

	£	s.	d.
And the aforesaid accountant seeks allowance for the recent victuals bought And for the Kitchen of the same Abbess & sisters within the afore said Abbey day by day viz. from the fifth day of the month of December in the third year of the reign of King Henry the seventh unto the twenty-fifth day of the month of December next following in the fourth year of the said King for one whole year . .	57	0	5
And also the same accountant seeks allowance for certain repairs and other necessary expenses as appears in a certain book of these expenses shown with this account . . .	47	17	11½
And likewise the same accountant seeks allowance for money given to the tenants of the same Abbess and sisters for their potations over and above their rents paid for the time of the account	0	13	4
Sum total of the allowances to the Accountant	165	7	1½
And so he owes to the present account . .	5	19	9¾

which he will answer for in his next account following.

Independently of the value of this account as setting forth the financial condition of the Abbey, it affords incidental information on other subjects. The record of the various trades carried on by tenants indicates the origin of the names of the streets in which they worked—names which, in many instances, the streets retain to the present day. It also gives evidence of the growing practice of allowing persons, who were neither monks nor nuns, to reside within the precincts of abbeys and priories as a means of supplementing the revenues. Large as were the endowments of the religious houses, they depended still in a measure upon the offerings of the devout for their efficient support, and as these tended to fall off the plan was resorted to of letting portions of the conventual buildings to outsiders. It is impossible to estimate the extent to which the rigour of the order and discipline enforced in earlier days would be yet further reduced by this practice. On the other hand, to those who desired a quiet life, surrounded by an atmosphere of sanctity, but who had no wish to submit themselves to the rules of a religious order, we can well imagine the close of a monastery or convent must have afforded a by no means unpleasant abode.

The other account, of which the following is a translation, is taken from the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus,'[1] which is the record of the possessions of all the religious houses, drawn up officially at the time of the Dissolution:—

THE PRIORY OR HOUSE OF THE MINORESSES OF THE ORDER OF S^T CLARE

MIDDLESEX

		£	s.	d.
Value of rents of the aforesaid Priory with the court yards and various houses, and plots and gardens situated within the precincts of aforesaid Priory	Nothing because they remain in the hands of the lady Abbess and Convent of the same and no profit thence proceeding			
Value in rents of assize with other rents and charges in various parishes both within the City of London and its suburbs together with £24 13*s.* 4*d.* for certain tenements situated within the circumference of the aforesaid Priory as appears in the aforesaid declaration concerning the same examined .		201	15	10½

THE ISLE OF WIGHT (INSULA VICTA)

Value of rents of the Manor of Appeldercombe, there as it appears in the aforesaid declaration therefrom made and examined	56	13	4

BERKSHIRE

Value of the rent of the Manor of Wolleigh there as it appears in the aforesaid declaration thereof examined	14	0	0

HERTFORDSHIRE

Value of the rents of certain acres of meadow land with their appurtenances in the lordship of Brekenox, as it appears in the said valuation	3	6	8

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[1] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Hen. VIII. vol. i. p. 397 (Latin).

KENT

	£	s.	d.
Value of the rent of one messuage with certain acres of meadow land and wood with their appurtenances in the parish of Ryngwold, as appears in the aforesaid declaration concerning the same examined	1	0	0

STAFFORDSHIRE

Value of the rental of a messuage with certain acres of meadow land and wood with their appurtenances in the village of Marchenton .	1	10	0

DERBYSHIRE

Value of the rectory of Hertington, with the tithes in the same county as it appears in the said declaration concerning the same made and examined	26	13	4
Value of a portion of the corn tithes in the parish of Quenton, as it appears in the aforesaid declaration	1	13	4

BEDFORDSHIRE

Value of the Rectory of Potton, with the tithes in the same County . . . £16 6 8 and of the corn tithes of the manor of Wrastlingworth within the said parish of Potton £5 6 8 As the valuation appears concerning the same examined	21	13	4

NORFOLK

Value of the Rectory of Kessingland, with the tithes in the same County . £9 0 0 And the rectory of Framesden, with the tithes in the same County . . £5 0 0 as appears in the said valuation concerning the same made and examined .	14	0	0
The sum of this priory concerning the same .	342	5	10½

DEDUCTIONS

Rents Paid

	£	s.	d.
By rents paid annually from the priory or house aforesaid, viz.			
To the Priory and convent of the hospital of the Blessed Mary of Elsing Spetel, London, chargeable upon the aforesaid tenement in Bowlane	0	9	4
To the Wardens of the church of Holy Trinity London chargeable upon three shops in the old fish market in the parish of S^t^ Nicholas Coldabbey old Fish Market	1	1	0
To the Wardens of the church of S^t^ Pancras London for a quit rent chargeable upon the same shops in the aforesaid parish of S^t^ Nicholas	0	13	4
To the Chamber of London for the encroachment or le Jutty of the aforesaid three shops	0	3	0
To the Prior of S^t^ Bartholomew in Smythfelde, chargeable upon a tenement in the parish of S^t^ Laurence	0	0	8
To the Abbot and Convent of Westminster chargeable upon a tenement in the parish of S^t^ Magnus London	0	0	10
To the Sheriff of London for socage chargeable upon a tenement in Woodstrete	0	0	2
To the Master of the hospital of S^t^ Thomas the Martyr in Southwerke, chargeable upon a tenement in the parish of S^t^ Michael in the Quern	0	8	0
To the Church of Holy Trinity London, chargeable upon tenements in the parish of S^t^ Botulph without Bussopsgate	0	17	10½
To the Abbot of Bermondsey chargeable upon a tenement at Dowgate	2	13	4
To the Prior of Christ Church Canterbury chargeable upon a tenement in Bowlane	1	0	0
To the Wardens of the church of Great Wakering in the County of Essex chargeable able upon the aforesaid tenement in Bowlane	0	10	0

	£	s.	d.
To the Dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul chargeable upon one tenement in the parish of S^{t} Mary Matfelon	0	5	6
To the Abbot and Convent of Westminster chargeable upon the above said tenement .	0	2	6
Total . .	8	13	11½

FEES

Annually paid to various persons as follows, viz.

To Sir Andrew Windesor, knight, chief steward of the manors lands and tenements of the aforesaid priory of the minoresses . .	2	13	4
To Roger Higham receiver	4	4	10
And to John Mynne auditor	0	13	4
as it appears by the abovesaid declaration concerning the same made and examined . .	7	12	6

PENSIONS

Pensions annually paid to certain persons, viz.

To the Prior and Convent of S^{t} Andrew Northampton, chargeable upon the rectory of Potton aforesaid	3	6	8
And to the vicar of the same place for a certain pension as appears by composition . .	2	0	0
And to the vicar of Kessingland, as appears by composition	2	4	4
as in the declaration aforesaid . .	7	11	0
Total deductions .	23	17	5½
and there remains clear .	318	8	5
The tenth thereof . .	31	16	10½

In estimating the entire value of the Abbey and its possessions which the King seized, there should be added to the above the probable annual value of that part of the precinct which was occupied by the Abbess and the sisters. This may be roughly estimated at £20, as the tenth of the value of the whole site, together with a few outside tenements, amounted to £4 3*s.* 4*d.* at the time that the property was granted to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

In the British Museum there are two receipts for quit rents. The one is for the rent due from the Prior of Newark, as specified in the balance above. The other is for rent due from the Earl of Shrewsbury to the rectory of Hertington;

the amount of this rent accords with the value of the rectory given in the accounts, but we have here the additional information that the tithes were let to the Earl of Shrewsbury. The receipts are thus worded:—

Be [1] it known to all that we the Lady Dorothy Abbess of the Minoriss of the order of Saint Clare without Algate London and the convent of the same place have received and had on the day of the making of these presents of the Prior of the Church of the blessed Mary the virgin and St Thomas the martyr of Newark (novo loco) in the County of Suffolk of four shillings of quit rent annually due to us chargeable on certain lands of the same priory situated in the parish of St Nicholas Coldabbey in the old fishery London of which the sum of four shillings of rent as aforesaid we confess that we for the last period to the feast of St Michael the Archangel last past have been well and faithfully paid In testimony of which our seal is affixed to these presents on the eighth day of the month of November in the year of King Henry the eighth the sixteenth.

Be [2] it known to all that by these presents we the Lady Dorathy Comberford Abbess of the Monastery of the Minoress of the Order of St Clare without Algate London and the convent of the same place have received and had on the day of the making of these presents of the Lord George Earl of Shrewsbury twenty six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence sterling of rent for our Rectory of Hertington and our demesne of the same in the County of Derbe namely for one whole year to the eve of St Michael last past before the giving of these presents of which sum of twenty six pounds thirteen shillings & four pence of aforesaid rent as above stated we confess ourselves to have been well and faithfully paid, and the aforesaid Earl to be quit and exonerated by these presents In testimony of which we have set our seal which we use in these matters to these presents. Given the twentieth day of October in the year of the reign of King Henry the eighth the eighteenth.

This is endorsed:

An acquytance for the rent of Hertington held of the Abbey of Nuns without Algate London.

Derb.

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[1] B.M. *Cart. Harl.* 44 F. 36 (Latin).

[2] B.M. *Topham Charters*, 19 (Latin).

The seal (the smaller of the two) on the first of these documents bears a female figure, encircled by an inscription, now almost obliterated. On the other are two figures. This seal has likewise an inscription, of which five letters only are legible, viz. ‘GR . . . . RIS.’

CHAPTER V

THE ABBEY (*continued*)

Abbesses and Nuns—Burials in the church and precinct—The suppression of the Abbey—List of the sisters at the Dissolution—Pensions

Ample as is our knowledge of the possessions which successive Abbesses gradually accumulated, it is only here and there that we find mention of the names of the once famous ladies who ruled the Abbey, and more rarely still of those who formed the rank and file of the sisterhood. Only one complete list of the community for the time being exists, viz. that which was drawn up at the time of the Dissolution. Apart from the names contained therein, nine Abbesses, one Prioress, and four Nuns are all that we can catalogue. The Abbesses are:

Katerine de Ingham[1] . .	about 1360.
Eleanor Scrope[2] . . .	,, 1388.
The Lady Mary de Lisle[3] .	,, 1398.
The Lady Margaret Holmystede[4]	,, 1408.
Isabella of Gloucester[5] . .	,, 1421.
Elizabeth Horwode[6] . .	,, 1470.
Johanna Barton[7] . . .	,, 1481.
Elizabeth Boulman[8] . .	,, 1508.
Dorothy Cumberford[9] . .	1514–1524.

Christina Seynnycalas[10] (St. Nicholas) is described as being Prioress in 1446.

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[1] Will of the Countess of Clare.

[2] *Lansdowne MS.* p. 19.

[3] *Inq. post mortem*, 7 Ed. IV. no. 51. She was probably the daughter of Warine de Lisle, the second Lord Lisle of Kingston Lisle.

[4] Will of John Buwendale (1408).

[5] *Rot. Pat.* of Hen. V. part 1, m. 14.

[6] B.M. *Harleian MS.* no. 2397.

[7] *Rot. Pat.* 20 Ed. IV. part 2, m. 18.

[8] Lease of tenements held of the Abbey by James ffyuche, citizen of London, recited in his will (S.H. Bennett, 16).

[9] Will of Nicholas Sheldon (1514); also B.M. *Topham Charters*, 19.

[10] *Rot. Clos.* (304) 25 Hen. VI. m. 30d.

The four nuns whose names have been preserved were the Countess of Dunbar,[1] Lady Ellen Neville,[2] sister of Lord John De Nevyl, Lord of Raby (buried in the Minories, 1388), Lady Sexton,[3] and Elizabeth de la Pole.[4]

Burials in the Abbey

Including the Lady Eleanor Scrope, the Lady Isabel of Gloucester, Katharine Ingham, the Countess of Dunbar, and the Lady Elizabeth de la Pole, who are named above, we are able to give a list of a few persons, but a few only, who were buried within the precincts. These are for the most part contained in a MS.[5] preserved in the British Museum, written on a single sheet of paper, and bound up with the Lansdowne collection. This MS. appears to have escaped the notice of any historian. There is nothing to show whence it came, but it is probably a transcript from some register kept in the Abbey. Its date may be approximately determined from the fact that it is in the same handwriting, with the exception of the last entry, that of Mary Reding, who died in 1534. It was, therefore, probably written shortly before that date, and Mary Reding's name entered later. It runs as follows:—

> The names of all p sones
> beyng of Nobull Blode whiche
> be buryed w$^{\text{th}}$in the Monastorye
> of the mynorysse

In p$^{\text{r}}$mis lorde Edmũde ffounder of the sayd monastorye Erle of lancastre leicestre and Derbe whiche lord Edmunde was Son of kyng henry the third and Brother to king Edward the ffurst And his hart ys buryed at the North end of the high Awter in the mynorysse And his body ys buryed at Westmꝰ in the Abbey.

Itm̄ Dame Elizabeth Countesse of Clare lyeth buryed on the south syde of the sayed church w$^{\text{t}}$owte

Itm̄ Dame Isabell Doughter of Thomas woodstok Duke of Glowcestre ys buryed in the myddyst of the Quere of the sayd Churche

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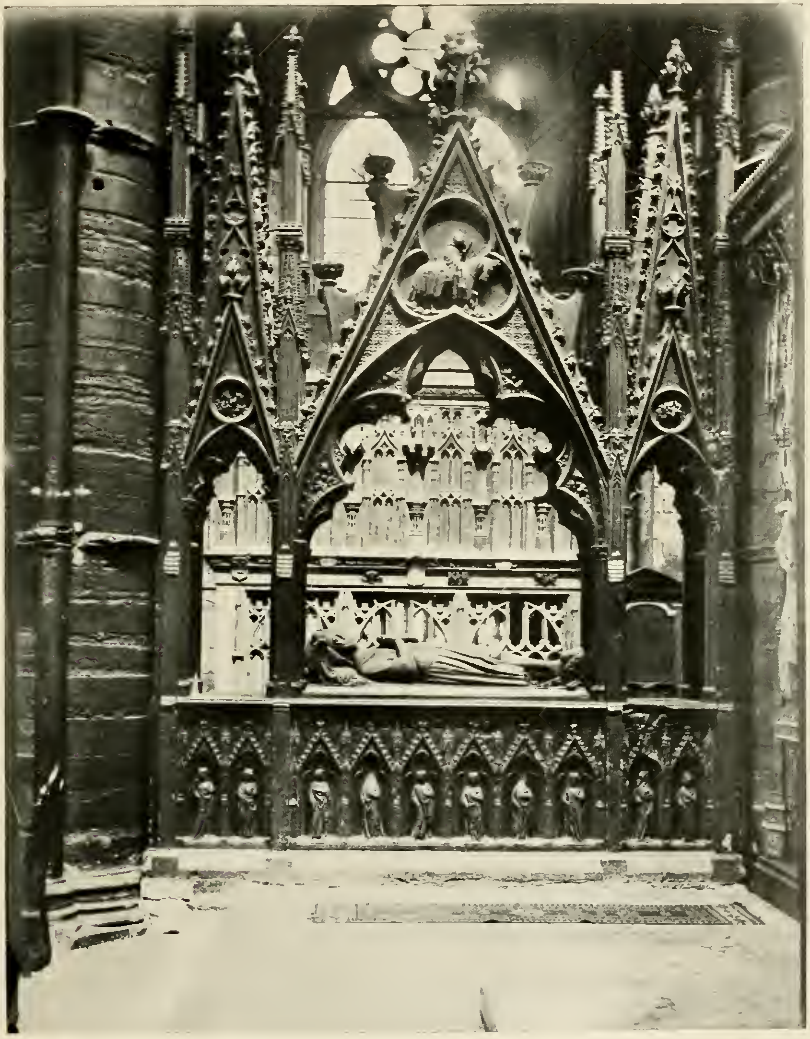
[1] B.M. *Lansdowne MS.* p. 19.

[2] *Regist. Lond.* E. Alex.

[3] Will of Henry Maliard (1525), S.H. Bodfelde, 36.

[4] *Lansdowne MS.* 19.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 19.



TOMB OF EDMUND, EARL OF LANCASTER, IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Itm̄ Dame margaret Countesse of Shrawsbury doughter of humfrey Duke of buckyngham ys buryed at the south end of the high Awter

Itm̄ Dame Anne Duches of yorke doughter to lord moumbray Duke of Northfolke ys buryed yn the sayd Quere

Itm̄ Dame Elizabeth Duches of Northfolk mother to the sayd Dame Anne Duches of yorke ys buryed in the Quere aforsayed

Itm̄ Dame Agnes Countesse of Pembroke ys buryed yn the Quere of the sayd Churche

Itm̄ Dame Elenore Scrope wyfe to the lorde Scrope and Doughter of Raufe Nevyll, Abbes of the sayd monastory

Itm̄ Dame kateryn Ingham wyfe of John Ingham Abbes also

Itm̄ the Countesse of Dunbare in Scotland lyeth buryed in the Chapter house sometyme Nonne of the sayd place

Itm̄ Edmu᷒de De la pole and Dame margaret his Wyfe ben buryed in the sayd Church

Itm̄ Dame Elizabeth De la pole doughter of the sayd Edmu᷒de sometime Nonne of the sayd monastery

Itm̄ Dame Mare Redyng wife of Redyng esquier whiche Mare was Syster unto Syr William Brandon knyght ffather unto lord Charuls Duke of Suff. lyeth buryed in the Closse Quere off the monastory of the mynores.

Although no dates are given in the Lansdowne MS. we have been able to identify most of those whose names are recorded therein. To 'the Countess of Dunbar,' however, we have no clue whatever, as not even her Christian name is given. There is also a misdescription in the case of the Countess of Shrewsbury, which makes it difficult to determine whether she was the wife of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, or of the third earl of the same name. There are slight descriptive errors as well in two other instances, viz. 'Elizabeth De la Pole' and 'Eleanor Scrope,' but in neither case is there any doubt as to their identity.

Edmund Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, who was surnamed Crouchback, a nickname given to him when on the Crusades, was the second son of King Henry III and Eleanor of Provence, and was born on January 16, 1245. In 1254 he was invested by Pope Innocent IV with the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia, but he never took possession of his sovereignty. He married, in 1270, Aveline, daughter and heiress of William Earl of Albemarle. In 1271 he went to Palestine as a Crusader, returning towards the close of the next year. The following November his wife died childless. In 1275 he married Blanche, daughter of Robert Count d'Artois, a younger son of Louis VIII of France and Maud of Brabant. Blanche had previously married, in 1269, Henry Le Gros, Count of Champagne and King of Navarre, but was left a widow in 1274. Edmund and Blanche spent much of their time in France, but when in London resided in the Savoy Palace.[1] Edmund[2] died at Bayon in 1296, and his body was brought to England and buried in Westminster Abbey, on the north side of the Sacrarium, where his beautiful tomb is to this day one of its most striking ornaments; while his heart was taken to the Abbey which he and his wife had founded, and buried at the north side of the altar. Edmund had also founded the Grey Friars Priory at Preston, in Lancashire.

Elizabeth De Bourgh, Countess of Clare, was the third daughter of Gilbert, ninth Earl of Clare (commonly called the Red Earl), by Joan, daughter of King Edward I. On the death of her only brother the Clare title fell to her share as co-heiress with her two sisters, and she consequently became the Lady of Clare (Domina Clarae). She married in early life John De Bourgh, the son of Richard De Bourgh, second Earl of Ulster and fourth Earl of Connaught, who died in his father's lifetime. In her will she styles herself Elizabeth De Bourgh, though she had married, secondly, Theobald Lord Vernon, and, thirdly, Robert Damory, Baron of Armoy. She was much devoted to works of charity. She obtained a considerable increase of endowments for University Hall, Cambridge, and placed it in such an improved position that she afterwards came to be regarded as its foundress, and the college to this day bears her name. The gifts that she bestowed upon the Minories we have already recorded. Her tomb must have possessed some striking features, as John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, son of Agnes (who was buried in the Minories), directed 'his tomb to be made as like as possible to the tomb of Elizabeth de Burugh, who lies at the minorisse in London near Aldgate.'[1] Weaver, who wrote in 1631, states that at Ware there was the following inscription: 'Hic iacent Rogerus Damory Baro tempore Edwardi secundi, et Elizabetha tertia filia Gilberti Clare comitis Glocestrie et Johanne uxoris eius fillie Edwardi primi vocate Iohann. de Acris.' It is difficult to account for this double claim for the honour of having provided a place for her burial. The somewhat vague expression, as regards the date, in the inscription at Ware suggests the probability that the tomb there was erected at a later time, and that the inscription was founded on an erroneous tradition; or it is possible that her body, having been buried at the Minories, was afterwards translated to Ware.

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[1] The Savoy Palace was founded by Peter of Savoy, uncle of Eleanor of Provence, who was the wife of Henry III, King of England. On the death of Peter, Edmund Earl of Lancaster became possessed of his great-uncle's property, which eventually, through the Duchy of Lancaster, became merged in the Crown.

[2] From Edmund Earl of Lancaster descended the Duchess of Lancaster, who married John of Gaunt, father of Henry IV; thus Henry IV was descended from Henry III both by father and mother.

Isabel of Gloucester was born in 1383, and was the third daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham and Duke of Gloucester, who was the seventh and youngest son of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault. Her mother was Elinor, the elder of the two daughters and heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, who died October 3, 1399, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Isabel was already a nun when she was sixteen years old, but her friends did what they could to make the long years that she spent in the Abbey as pleasant and comfortable for her as possible. Her mother left her by will a 'bed of cloth of gold,' and, as we have already stated, special provision was made for increasing the funds of the Abbey while she was Abbess.

Margaret Countess of Shrewsbury is here stated to have been the daughter of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, but this is probably an error, arising from the fact that John Talbot, third Earl of Shrewsbury, married a daughter of Humphrey, first Duke of Buckingham; but the latter was Catherine, the fifth daughter, not Margaret, who was the fourth. The Margaret who was buried in the Minories would appear to be the daughter of Richard (Beauchamp) Earl of Warwick, and the second wife of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury. She was the mother of Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk, and grandmother of Anne Duchess of York, both of whom were buried in the Minories. The Countess died in 1467, and is said to have been buried in St. Paul's, which raises another difficulty as to her identity.

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[1] Nichols's *Royal Wills*, p. 92.

Anne Duchess of York was the only child of John Mowbray, the sixth Duke of Norfolk, and was in her own right Countess of Norfolk, Baroness Mowbray and Segrave. She was born on December 10, 1472, and at the age of five years was married, at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, on January 15, 1478, to Prince Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV, who was born at Shrewsbury in 1472, and was murdered in the Tower in 1483; he, like his wife, was therefore only five years old at the time of the marriage. Anne[1] is said to have died three or four years afterwards—that is, before her husband was murdered.

Dugdale says that Duchess Anne was buried in the chapel of St. Erasmus in Westminster Abbey.

Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk, the mother of Anne Duchess of York, and the wife of John Mowbray, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was the daughter of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, and Margaret his wife (mentioned above), the daughter of Richard Earl of Warwick. In her will,[2] which is dated November 6, 1506, and was proved on June 28th, 1507, after bequeathing her

> soule to almighty god to our blessed lady seynt mary and to seynt Thomas off Cannturbury and seynt anne and to all the holy company of heven,

she continues:

> And my body to be burried in the Nonnes quere of the minoresses w^{t}oute Algate of London nyghe unto the place where Anne mongomery lyeth buried. And I will have for my buriall but xx torches they both to serve at my buriall and months mynd

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[1] *Harleian Misc.* vi. p. 399.

[2] S.H. Adeane, 25.

and they the said torches to be given to the churche of the saide mynoresses Also I will that there shallbe noon cunositie of flowers nor other workes about such tapers and mortues as shallbe convenient for myn herse and the same to remayn after my monthes day be kept to the said nonnes Also I will that ther shallbe pvided for my buriall mete and drynke sufficient for eury manys degre beyng there by the discrecian of myn executors.

She then provides for the distribution of 100 marks among the poor of Whitechapel and Hackney and various members of her household, and, together with some other bequests, she leaves 'to the Abbeys and the house of the Mynoresses w^{t}oute Algate xx^l.'

Agnes Countess of Pembroke was the wife of Laurence Lord Hastings, Bergavenny, and Weishford, who, upon the death of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, without issue was, by patent dated October 13, 1339, 13 Ed. III, advanced to that dignity. He died on August 30, 1348, and was buried in the Priory of Bergavenny. Agnes was the daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March. She married, secondly, John de Hakelut, and died on July 25, 1369.

Eleanor Scrope was the third daughter of Ralph Neville, (1291–1367), fourth Baron Neville of Raby, by Alice, daughter of Sir Hugh Audley, and married Geoffrey le Scrope, the eldest son of Henry le Scrope, who was the first Baron Scrope of Masham. Geoffrey joined a Crusade, and was killed in 1362, when only about twenty years of age. He is evidently incorrectly described as Lord Scrope in the MS., for, although he was the heir, he did not inherit the title.

Katherine Ingham was Abbess in 1360, for at that date a legacy of £20 was left to her by the Countess of Clare. Beyond this we know nothing of her.

The Countess of Dunbar we cannot identify.

Sir Edmund de la Pole, Kt., Earl of Suffolk, was the second son of John Duke of Suffolk, his mother being Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Duke of York and Cicely Nevill, and sister of Edward IV. He would, in the ordinary course, have become Duke of Suffolk, but he took up the earldom only. His elder brother, John Earl of Lincoln, had been attainted of high treason, and all the family estates were confiscated.

A portion of these was restored to Edmund, but for this concession the King exacted £5000, to be paid by instalments. In consequence of this serious depletion of his inheritance, and his inability, therefore, adequately to support the dignity, he petitioned the King to be allowed to surrender the dukedom,

> and[1] that hereafter he shall be accepte and taken as Erle of Suff.: after such astate of inheritance as his Anncestours were afore the astate of Duke by the Kinge's progenitours or p̃decessours to any of his seid anncestours grannted With annuytie granted for the creation of the astate of Erle.

The petitioner prayed that the indenture ratifying the King's consent might be confirmed by Act of Parliament, which was accordingly done. Edmund was not destined long to enjoy his diminished honours; he soon fell under the King's displeasure, in consequence of his having killed a man in a fit of anger, and afterwards going into Flanders to his aunt, Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, without the King's leave. For this, however, he was pardoned on his return. Subsequently he went again into Flanders, with his brother Richard, without the Royal leave, and being afraid to return, and finding he was not safe in Flanders, he for some time wandered about the Continent, till at last he delivered himself up to Philip Duke of Burgundy, who sent him back to England.

He was immediately imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained until the fifth year of Henry VIII. At that time the King was contemplating an expedition into France, and, fearing the possibility of Edmund becoming a rival of his sister for the throne, in the event of his own death, Henry gave orders for his execution, which was carried out on April 30, 1513.

Margaret, Edmund's wife, was the daughter and coheiress with Elizabeth Countess of Oxford of Sir Richard Le Scrope, a younger son of Henry, fourth Lord Scrope de Bolton. In her will she bequeathed her body to be buried by that of her husband. The Earl and Countess of Suffolk had an only child, who is called Elizabeth in our MS., but Anne by the genealogists. She entered the sisterhood, and was likewise buried in the Minories.

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[1] *Parl. Roll.* (no. 128), 2 Hen. VII. no. 13.

Mary Reading was a sister of Sir William Brandon, and was therefore aunt to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

In addition to those above stated to have been buried in the Abbey we have culled a few further names from wills preserved at Somerset House. From some of these, viz. those of Jane Lady Talbot (1504), Mrs. Joyce Lee (1507), and Elizabeth Brakenbury (1514) we have already made extracts in reference to various gifts made to the sisters, in addition to their bequeathing their bodies to be buried in the Abbey. The following refer to burials only:

> In[1] the name of God on the last day of the month of July A.D. 1407 & in the 8th year after the conquest of England of Henry IVth I Willm Burcestre kt . . . bequeath his body to be buried within the Abbey of the minoresses of the order of St Clare near where my dearest wife Margaret is buried.

Under date August 20, 1407:

> I[2] Thomas Berewell citizen & salter of London bequeath my body to be buried in the Church yard of the convent of the sisters Minoresses without Algate London.

Again, dated May 28, 1502, and proved February 26, 1503:

> I[3] John Van delf of the pisshe of Saint Nicholas Acōn in Lombardstreete of London gold smyth intending through the high sufferance and grace of almighty god divers parts of beyonde the see for divers causes me moving to passe over & visite bequeath . . . my body to be buried in the Conventuall church of the house and mooney of the minoresse wthoute Algate beside on in the place where the body of Barbara late my wife there lyeth buried if it fortune me to decesse in London and ellsewhere as it shall please god of his Infinite mercy to dispose and ordeyne for me to dye in.

We are indebted to Seymour for two other names, viz. Lady Elizabeth Keryel (1419) and her mother, Matilda Truffel.

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[1] S.H. March, 14. [2] S.H. March, 15. [3] S.H. Holgrave, 2.

The Suppression of the Abbey

It would be out of place in a book of this character to enter into a discussion of the various causes that led up to the dissolution of the religious houses. Suffice it to say that King Henry VIII, in the year 1536, began to feel his way towards the suppression of all the abbeys and priories in the country and the abolition of the monastic orders. So, by way of carrying out his purpose, he issued a Commission to inquire into their state and condition, and made their report, which was not too impartially drawn up, a pretext for commencing operations. He first took in hand the smaller monasteries. In many instances the brothers and sisters were induced to make a voluntary surrender of their property and possessions, on condition that they should receive pensions for life. As some, however, had a higher sense of duty than that of merely providing for their own individual livelihood, and consequently refused to be, at any price, consenting parties to the spoliation of the trusts that they had inherited from their predecessors, the King had recourse to the powers of an Act of Parliament to enable him to seize everything which had not been voluntarily surrendered.

Two years later, being the thirtieth of his reign, he attacked the greater houses. Many of these, taking warning from the fate of their less powerful brothers and sisters, surrendered to the King and secured their pensions.

Among those who adopted this course were the Lady Elizabeth Savage, the Abbess, and the sisters of the Abbey of the Minories. The surrender[1] is dated November 30, 1538, 345 years from the time of the foundation of the Abbey.

The next year another Act of Parliament was passed, confirming to the King all the convents and monasteries which had been surrendered.

The pensions assigned to the Abbess and sisters were secured to them by letters patent, and the Receiver's accounts[2] of successive years show that they were regularly paid during the lifetime of the several pensioners. The list of these supplies us with what is practically the roll of the sisterhood at the time of the Dissolution, viz.:

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[1] R.O. *State Papers*, Eliz. Dom. Add. 1547, 65, p. 541.

[2] R.O. *Receiver's Accounts of the Possessions of Monasteries and of other Lands in the hands of the Crown*, 31 & 32 *Henry VIII.* no. 253, m. 6; also R.O. *Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books*, vol. 245, fol. 99, 3 day of April, Hen. VIII. 30.

		£	s.	d.
Elizabeth Salvage (Abbess)		40	0	0
Margaret Woodward	aged 52	2	13	4
Anne Hunt	,, 76	3	6	8
Elizabeth Perpoint	,, 50	2	13	4
Agnes Laxham	,, 62	3	6	8
Barbary Neyll[1]	,, 28	2	0	0
Mary Pilbeane	,, 24	2	0	0
Alice Watts	,, 48	2	13	4
Margaret Fitzgarret		2	13	4
Juliana Cressey	,, 36	2	13	4
Agnes Elmer	,, 36	2	0	0
Frances Somer	,, 26	2	0	0
Alice Edwards	,, 39	2	13	4
Margaret Hathiway	,, 50	2	13	4
Sibilla Vincent	,, 61	3	6	8
Anne Devereux	,, 64	2	0	0
Joan Goringe	,, 27	2	13	4
Johanna Walgrave	,, 60	3	6	8
Philis Rawson	,, 42	2	13	4
Elizabeth Baker	,, 34	2	13	4
Elizabeth Copeleyne	,, 31	2	0	0
Margaret Perpointe	,, 33	2	0	0
Margaret Borowghe	,, 43	2	0	0
Susanna Elliott		1	6	8
Barbara Hawke	,, 24	2	0	0

The list in the Augmentation Office books contains some additional names, through which a pen has been drawn, and as they do not appear in the Receiver's accounts, evidently, on revision, they were not considered eligible. One of these, Margaret Fitzgarret, appears above, though with no age stated, which looks as if, on the discovery of her age, her name was placed on the lower portion of the list, but by mistake was not erased above, so she obtained her pension, notwithstanding that she was only sixteen years old. The other professed nun whose name was struck off was apparently a novice; the rest were lay sisters. The names of these unfortunate ones were:—

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[1] See her father's will, dated August 2, 1538.

		£	s.	d.
Margaret Fitzgarard	aged 16	2	0	0
Noves Brydgett	„ 20	2	0	0
and lay sisters:				
Elizabeth Marten	„ 68	2	0	0
Rose Lightfoote	„ 50	2	0	0
Katheryn Donnyngton	„ 26	2	0	0
Jane Cressewith	„ 50	2	0	0
Jane Crosley	„ 80	2	0	0
Julyan Heron the Ideote				

Age seems to have been a factor, though clearly not the only one, in the determination of the amount to be allotted to each. The pension, however, received by the Abbess, whose age is not given, was out of all proportion to that received by the rest of the sisterhood. Whether her position as Abbess or her aristocratic connection had most to do with this, or whether it was that she stood out for her price, it is impossible to surmise.

In addition to the pensions, certain annuities, which had been granted under writings sealed with the Convent seal, were continued, and regularly paid in each case. The writings are said to have been allowed by the Chancellor and Council of the Court of Augmentations, and it was decreed that the annuitants should have and enjoy the same annuities, with arrears from the time of the dissolution of the late Monastery, to the end of their lives. These were:—

	£	s.	d.
William Milborne & Winifred his wife	2	13	4
William Walker	2	0	0
Alice Lupsett (widow), in recompence & satisfaction for a certain[1] Corrody granted by the Abbess & Convent &c.	6	13	4
Thomas Dyer	2	13	4
George Gifford & his assigns for a period of 41 years	5	0	0
Thomas Wade	1	0	0
William Gorringe (miles) & George Pollard (armiger)	3	6	8

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[1] That is an allowance for the maintenance of a servant.

Except in the case of William Walker, we have no means of ascertaining what services these annuitants had rendered to entitle them to these allowances. In the Receiver's[1] accounts for the year 1547 William Walker is styled 'Chaplain'; he must, therefore, have received this £2 a year in addition to his salary paid by the Grocers' Company and by the executors of Mary Redding. The total amount of these pensions and annuities was £120 13*s*. 4*d*., and when this had been deducted from the annual income of £318 16*s*. 5*d*., there remained £198 3*s*. 1*d*., which, of course, would gradually increase as the various lives came to an end. On the whole, it cannot be said that the vested interests were unfairly considered, with the exception of those whose names were removed from the list as it was at first prepared; but to many of the sisters, especially those of more advanced age, it must have been a sore trial to be sent out into the world to find, as best they could, new homes, where it would be quite impossible to live the old life of quiet seclusion and devotion, into which, for good or ill, the cares of the busy world entered so little and played so small a part.

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[1] R.O. *Receiver's Accounts* (38 Hen. VIII. and 1 Ed. VI.), Land Revenue Office.

CHAPTER VI

THE MINORIES AS BATH PLACE, A.D. 1538–1548

Grant of the Minories by Act of Parliament to the Bishop of Bath and Wells—Tenants of the precinct—Rents from outlying property and outgoing charges—Biographies of Bishops John Clerk, Wm. Knight, and Wm. Barlow

In the same year (1539) that the Precinct of the Minories was confirmed to the King by Act of Parliament it was, by another Act, granted to the See of Bath and Wells, in exchange for the episcopal residence near Temple Bar.[1] The Act is intituled 'An Act for the assurance of Bath Place to therle of Sutht:'[2] and runs as follows:—

> Forasmuch as the king his most royall maiestie entendeth and myndeth at suche times & seasons as his highness repayreth and cometh to his Palace of Westm^{r} to have the Nobles of his Realm and his faithfull and trustie counsailours to be nere unto him and to have their habitācōn and dwellinge houses nye unto the said Palace so that the same Nobles and Counsaillours maye with the more ease give their diligent attendaunce upon his highnes at the saide Palace. When they shalbe therunto cōmaunded accordinge unto their bounden duetyes that now in considerācōn that the right honorable Willm̄ Erle of Suth: high Admyrall of Englande being one of the kinge his most honāble Counsaill hathe no convenient mansion and dwelling place of his owne nye unto the said Palace and for the true diligent and faithfull svice w^{ch} the said Erle hathe done unto the kinge his saide highnes and that he intendeth hereafter to doe.
>
> Be it enacted ordeyned and established by our saide soveraigne lorde the kinge by thassent of his lordes Spūāll and temporall and

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[1] *Parliament Roll*, 31 Hen. VIII. R.O. no. 147.

[2] The Earl of Southampton, Sir William Fitzwilliam, K.G. He was the only surviving son of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, of Aldwark, in Yorkshire. He was killed in 1542 while leading the English army into Scotland.

of the cōmons in this p̄sent Parliament assembled and by the auctoritie of the same that the saide Erle fromhensforth have holde and enioye the Chief mansion place or capitall mesuage called and named the Bisshopp of Bathes place sett lienge and beinge in the parishe of S^{t} Clement wthout Temple Barr in the Countie of middlesex with all and singular houses edifices buyldinges Courtes orchardes being parte and parcell of the saide Capitall messuage or to the same apperteyninge or in anywise belonginge And all mesuages landes tēntes rentes s͛vices and all other hereditamentes cōmodities and ꝑsittes whatsoev͛ they be sett beinge within the saide parishe of Saint Clement aforesaide whereof the right revēnd ffather in God John nowe Busshoppe of Bathe and Welles is in anywise possessed and seised in demeane rēusion or oderwise in the right of his Bushoperiche. To have and holde all the saide Chief mansion place and Capitall mesuage and oder lands tēntes hereditaments and cōmodities aforesaide withe all & singular appurtenances unto the said Willm̄ Erle of Southampton and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten and for defaulte of suche issue the remaynder therof to the kinge his most royall maiestie his heires and successors for ever.

Savinge to all and everie ꝑson and ꝑsons and bodyes politike their heires and successors ooder then the kinge our sōuaigne lorde his heires and successors and the saide Busshoppe of Bathe & his successors the Deane and Chapitre of Welles and their successors and eūy of them all suche right title entreleases for lyves or yeres rent s͛uice rent sokes w^{ch} any of them have or hathe unto the same or any parte or parcell thereof as yf this Acte had never bene had no made.

And that also for and in consideration of the p̄misses and for a recompense and satisfaction thereof to be made to the saide Busshoppe of Bathe and his successors Be it enacted ordeyned and established by the said our sōuaigne lorde the kinge by thassent of the lordes spūall and temporall and the Cōmons in this p̄sent parliament assembled and by authoritie of the same that the said right rēuende father in God John Busshoppe of Bathe and Welles shall have hold and enioye the scite circuite and p̄cincte of the late monasterie of our blessed lady of thorder of Saincte Clare cōenly called the minoresse by what name or names soever the saide late monasterie was founded called reputed or knowen sett lienge & beinge wthout Algate and in the suburbes of london with all the houses edifices buildinges tēntes courtes gardens orchards rentes and all ooder hereditements cōmodities and advantages whatsoever they be sett lienge and beinge within the uttermost walles of the saide late monasterie and also the same uttermost walles withe buildinges thereupon withe the soyle and ground whereupon they stoude and as much as hath bene accepted reputed and taken as parte and parcell of the circuite pcinct and compasse of the saide late monasterie And also one tente with a garden nowe in the occupācon and tenure of Edmond Kindar And one tēnte in the occupācon of John Boys sett lienge and beinge in the parishe of S^{t} Botulphe wthout Algate aforesaide And also one tēnte with a garden sett lienge and beinge in the pocke of All Sainctes of Barkinge besides the Tower of London in the tenure or occupācon of one Willm̄ Armarar And one tēnte with a garden in the occupācon of Patrique Prouer set lieng and beinge in the pocke of litle Sainct Bartholomewes in London One tēnte with thappurtenānce in the occupācon of John Feld set lieng and being in the pocke of Sainct Michaells le Querne in London thre shopps in the tenure of Willm̄ hounyinges with thappurtenānces sett lienge and being in old fishestrete in London And also all and singular the reūsions of all suche of the saide mesuages tentes and ooder the pmesses as are letten to any pson or psons for terme of lief or lives or for terme of yeres or oodrewise with the rentes ʒvices and psittes uppon the sames leases reserved To have and to hold all and singular the same scite circuite and pcincte of the said late monasterie with the saide uttermost walles & buildinges thereupon with the soile and grounde whereupon they stoude and also all and singular the said messuage tēntes gardeynes and ooder heriditaments and cōmodities aforesaid with their appurtenānces to the saide Reūend Father in God John Busshoppe of Bathe & Welles and to his successours for ever of our saide sōūaigne lorde the Kinge his heirs and successors by feaulty and yerely rent of iiii^{li} vi^{s} iiii^{d} to be paid at the feast of Sainct Michael tharchangell and the Anūnciācon of our lady by even porcōns to the Kinges courte of augmentācon of the revenues of his crowne for all manner of ʒvice suit and demande savinge to all and eūy pson and psons and bodies politike their heirs and successors ooder then the Kinge our sōūaigne lorde his heirs and successors all suche right title entrie leases for lives or years w^{ch} they or any of them have or hathe unto the same or any parte or parcell thereof as if this acte had never bene had no made.

Provided alwaye and be it enacted that no clause worde or article conteyned in this p̄sent Acte shalbe hurtfull or p̄iudiciall unto the Kinge his highnes his heires and successors for any rent or s̉uices reserved to our said soveraigne by vertue of this p̄sent Acte.

Provided also and be it enacted by thauctoritie aforesaide that the saide Busshoppe and his successors shall yerelie paye the tenth to the kinge his highnes his heires and successours for the said Bushopricke of Bathe and Welles as he hathe done heretofore without any dedūc̄c̄on or allowance to be had for the saide capitall messe and oodre the p̄misses unto the saide Erle by this Acte before graunted.

And furthermore be it enacted by thauctoritye aforesaide that the p̄misses and eūy parte and parcell therof to the saide Erle and his heirs of his bodie begotten by this Acte before graunted shall be fromhensforth clerely discharged of all manner of annuyties fees rentes & charges and the arrerages of the same by the saide Bisshoppe or any of his p̄decessours before this p̄sent Parliament granted to any pson or psons or bodies politique under his or their seale or seales or undre the Chapitre seales of Churches of Welles and Bathe aforesaide or of any of them And that it shalbe leful for all and eny suche pson and psons or bodies politique to distreyne and have like remedy to all ententes and purposes for their saide annuyties fees or rentes charges and arrerages in the saide lande tēn̄tes and ooder the p̄misses before limitted to the saide Busshoppe and his successors as they might have done in the p̄misses before to the saide Erle by this p̄sent Acte granted as if this p̄sent Acte had never bene had no made.

And be it further enacted that if any fermor or Tenānte of any of the p̄misses appoynted to the saide Busshopp be compelled by vertue of this Acte to paye any rent charge that they the saide tenānte or ffermor shalbe discharged and exon̄āted of and against the saide Busshoppe and his successors of as moche rent as he shalbe compelled to paye by vertue of this Acte and furdre for a like recompense the kinges maiesty is contented and pleased that it be enacted by thauctoritie aforesaide that the saide scite circuyte and pcincte of the saide late monasterie with all landes and tēn̄tes and ooder the p̄misses and eūy pcell therof before by this p̄sent acte geven and lymitted unto the saide Byshoppe and his successours shalbe from hensforth clarlie discharged of all annuyties fees rentes and charges and the arrerages of the same geven and granted out of the same p̄misses heretofore to any pson or psons and bodyes politike by the late Abbesse and Cōvent of the saide late monasterie or by their Predecessours under their Cōvent seale or seales And that it shalbe lawfull unto all and eny suche pson and psons bodyes politique to resorte unto the saide courte of

Augmentac̄on and to the Treasurer of the same courte for the tyme beinge for their Annuyties fees rentes and charges tharrerages of the same accordinge to Equitye and justice.

In the Ministers' accounts[1] for this year (1539) the names of each tenant residing in the precinct, and the rents they paid, are given, and from these it appears that the premises occupied and the rents paid are nearly identical with those given in the Abbey accounts of 1488, with one or two notable additions. For instance, besides 'the great house,' then occupied by the Duchess of Norfolk, at a rent of £10, there is 'one great palace lately occupied by the Earl of Sussex, now let to the Lady Elizabeth,[2] Countess of Kildare, situate within the Ambit of the said late monastery,' at a rent of £6 13*s*. 4*d*.

It is possible that the £200 given by Henry VIII in 1519 had been spent on this new palace, and not on the infirmary, as suggested above. Some of the buildings formerly occupied by the Abbess and sisters are also now let; there is 'one tenement called "Frears Hall," with the chambers occupied by the late abbess, at a rent of £1 6*s*. 8*d*., and one house, called a "brew house," at £2,' and one tenement called 'the mynesters lodging' is stated to have been granted to Roger Higham[3] for his life by letters patent, and after his death, by Act of Parliament, to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, at a rent of £1 10*s*.

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[1] R.O. *Ministers' Accounts*, 31 *&* 32 *Hen. VIII.* no. 112, m. 10 (Latin).

[2] She was the second wife of Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare. She was the daughter of Thomas Grey, first Marquis of Dorset, and consequently sister of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk. Her son, Gerald Fitzgerald, eleventh earl, the nephew of Henry Grey, signed, with others, the letters patent for the succession of Lady Jane Grey to the throne (Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*).

It is probable that it was through his sister that Henry Grey himself came to reside in the Minories, which led to his obtaining possession of the property. The attachment of the family to the precinct is evidenced by the fact that Katherine Duchess of Suffolk, widow of Charles Brandon, took up her residence there after it had passed entirely out of the hands of the family. Katherine was stepmother to Frances, Henry Grey's wife.

[3] In Bishop's Clerk's will the following passage occurs: '*I bequeath to Mr. higham my Chapleyn all that he ought me of an old dette making full accompt and paying his debit upon his last meddling in Office.*' This Mr. Higham and Roger are probably identical.

It is also stated that this Roger Higham had been appointed by

> Lady Elizabeth Savage late abbess with the consent of the whole convent by deed under the seal of the late monastery dated 11 July 30 Henry VIII Receiver-general and subseneschal of all lordships manors messuages lands tenements rents and other possessions spiritual and temporal belonging to the said monastery

at a salary of £12 a year for life.

It will be observed that only a few of the outlying tenements, which had formerly belonged to the Abbey, were granted to the bishops; the rentals of these are not given in the Ministers' accounts for this year, but they are fully stated subsequently in the 'particulars of grant' to the Duke of Suffolk, at which time the rents appear to have remained at the same figure; *i.e.* the rents of the property

within the precinct were valued at	£33	12	8
and of the outside property at	9	10	0
Total	£43	2	8

But there were the following deductions:

Rent payable to the King for the tenth of the aforesaid lands and tenements	iv^{l} vi^{s} iiii^{d}
Rent payable to the heirs of Thomas late Lord Audely de Walden annually arising out of a tenement within the ambit of the aforesaid house	xvii^{s} x^{d}
Rent annually payable for the sustentation of the Chaplain in the same place serving the Cure of the inhabitants within the aforesaid ambit	ii^{l} xii^{s} iiii^{d}
Fees to John Moore and Elizabeth his wife the custodians of the aforesaid house and mansion granted to them by letters patent for either or both their lives per annum	ii^{l}
A fee to the collector of the aforesaid rent granted to him by letters patent for life per annum	ii^{l}
A fee to the auditor of the aforesaid revenues per annum	i^{l}

The total rental value, therefore, of the property granted to the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and later to the Duke of Suffolk, was £33 5*s.* 1½*d.*

One of the tenements in the city, however, which was granted to the Bishop does not appear in the grant to the Duke.

No mention is made of these outside tenements when the Duke sold the property, and we have no further traces of them.

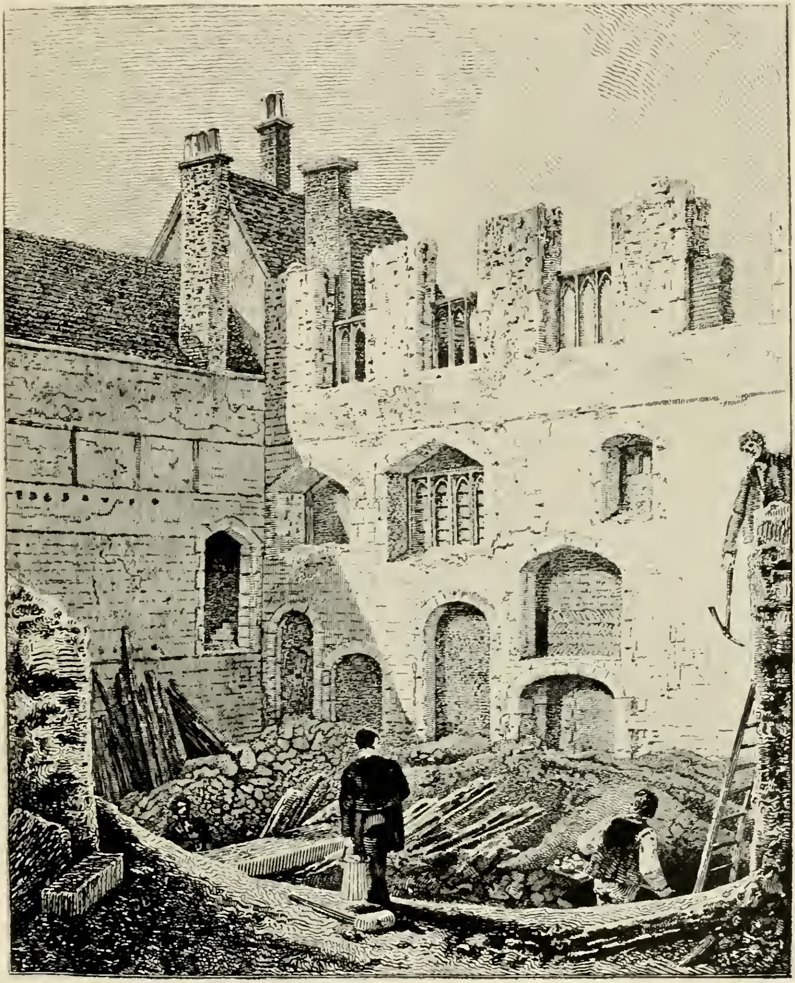
At the time that the Bishop took possession of the Minories the great house, the 'magnum Hospitium,' appears to have had no tenant; it was therefore ready for his immediate occupation, and during the time that it remained in the hands of himself and his two immediate successors the great house, if not the whole precinct, was called 'Bathe Place'; but as soon as it ceased to be the property of the See the old name of the Minories was resumed, and the great house was known for many years to come as the 'Mynory House.'

The similarity of description of the various tenements in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII and Edward VI points conclusively to the fact that the outward aspect of the monastic buildings remained practically unchanged for years, and it is probable that it continued much the same until the latter years of the reign of Queen Anne. A large block of the ancient buildings was still standing in 1797, when, with the exception of the rebuilt church and a few cellars, the last vestiges of the once famous Abbey were destroyed by fire.

Biographies of Bishops John Clerk, William Knight, and William Barlow

John Clerk

The Bishop to whom the Minories was conveyed when it was made over to the See of Bath and Wells was John Clerk. His tenure, however, of his new London residence was brief; and it is also doubtful whether his body was suffered to remain for long where it had been laid to rest within the precinct. Nevertheless, our history would be incomplete with-



A VIEW OF THE ABBEY BUILDINGS AFTER THE FIRE IN 1796.

out some account[1] of the life of one who was among the ablest of the diplomatists of the time, and took so prominent a part in delicate negotiations affecting the interest and schemes of Henry VIII and his great Minister, Cardinal Wolsey.

Of his parentage, place of birth, and early life nothing whatever is known, beyond the fact that he graduated at Cambridge, taking his B.A. degree in 1499 and M.A. in 1502. Six years later he was presented to the rectory of Northfield, in Kent, and shortly afterwards he became Master of the Hospital of St. Mary, or the Maison Dieu, at Dover. During the next decade he was presented to five other livings, as well as to the Archdeaconry of Colchester, the Deanery of the Chapel Royal, and the Deanery of Windsor; he was also made a judge in the Court of the Star Chamber. These preferments, bestowed in rapid succession, many of which he held at the same time, are evidence that his energy, tact, and abilities, which became so marked in after days, had already been fully recognised by Wolsey. About the year 1514 he took the degree of LL.D. at the University of Bologna, and in 1518 he appears as chaplain and private secretary to Wolsey. The Cardinal then, and all through his life, trusted Clerk implicitly, and was never afraid to reveal to him the closest secrets of his most intricate schemes; and Clerk never abused his confidence, nor did he ever spare himself trouble in carrying out his master's wishes and furthering to the utmost his interests and those of the King and his country. To Wolsey personally he always displayed the utmost deference, amounting sometimes, as his correspondence evidences, almost to servility. During his whole remarkable career Wolsey had no more useful servant; he was shrewd, observant, painstaking, and, more than all, he never offended people. While he could always hold his own, he was at the same time a *persona grata* in every Court to which he was accredited, and with all the other ambassadors with whom he was associated. In that age, as in many another, double dealing of the most barefaced kind was considered an almost absolute necessity in diplomatic negotiations, and Clerk occasionally showed his capability to conceal the whole truth ; but, notwithstanding that readiness to adapt principles to those which happened to be in ascendency at the time was the keynote of the school of diplomacy in which he was brought up, he was always true and staunch to his employers, and would never betray a trust that was committed to his keeping. His ecclesiastical duties ever sat lightly upon him, at least after he took to a diplomatic career ; in fact he had no time to attend to them. His livings, and afterwards his bishopric, were regarded as little else than provision for his maintenance, the bishopric, no doubt, being also useful as giving him a position, apart from that which he held when employed as an ambassador. His official correspondence is voluminous, and its great interest lies not only in the historical importance of the many subjects with which it deals, but in the vivid pictures that it gives of the characters of the men and women with whom he came in contact, and the manners and customs of society in the sixteenth century. He never contented himself with the dry narration of facts and expression of opinions ; his letters are full of anecdote and of descriptive scenes ; he depicts the people he meets with, the way they have received him, and his own feelings and conduct in embarrassing situations and trying interviews.

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[1] The *State Papers* have mainly furnished the materials for the biographies of the three Bishops of Bath and Wells who successively possessed the Minories, but S. H. Cassan's *History of Bishops of Bath and Wells*, Godwin's *De Præsulibus*, Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, *Lansdowne MS.* no. 980, Bishop Kennett's *Collections*, Strype's *Memorials*, and the *Dictionary of National Biography* have also been laid under contribution.

In his first extant official letter, dated April 17, 1518, he tells Wolsey that he had arrived at Woodstock the day before, and had met the King riding out, hunting, when he 'axed full heartily of your grace's welfare ; the which when I had declared unto him, and made my commendations in my best manner, showing how that I had letters unto his grace from you, he said he would the sooner return, to the intent he might know the contents of them.' He then minutely describes the interview in the evening, what passed between them privately, and what the King desired him to say aloud before the Council, very carefully relating everything that the King had said in praise of Wolsey, which he had summed up in these words: 'There is no man living that pondereth more the surety of his person and the common wealth of this his realm.' This was a type of the character of all his after-correspondence. His first foreign mission was to 'the Lady of Savoy' in 1519. The next year he was present at the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold,' and in the spring of the year following he was sent as ambassador of England to the Papal Court, and took with him commendatory letters to Campeggio from Wolsey, in which the latter described him as a most learned man. Clerk's instructions bore not only upon the many important and complicated questions of the day, but also upon the furtherance of Wolsey's own schemes for securing for himself legatine powers of more than ordinary fulness.

To obtain all the Cardinal desired on this score gave Clerk infinite trouble, and in nothing was his patient perseverance more clearly manifested than in his handling of the delicate negotiations connected therewith.

The next year, 1521, Clerk was engaged on another matter. He received instructions in August to present to Pope Leo X[1] the King's book, written for the purpose of refuting Luther's heresies, and he was at the same time to declare Henry's resolution to support the Church and extinguish heresy by the sword and pen. He was first of all to present it privately, and if it obtained the Pope's approval he was to ask leave to present it publicly, in full Consistory, with 'a solemn oration,' therein stating that the King has in the book styled himself the very Defender of the Catholic faith of Christ's Church, which title he has truly deserved of the See Apostolic. Clerk minutely describes every detail connected with the presentation of the book and its cordial reception by his Holiness. The Consistory for its presentation was held on Wednesday, October 2, and Clerk was much perturbed by being told by the Master of the Ceremonies tha he must kneel during the delivery of his oration. 'Whereat i was somewhat abashed,' he writes, 'for methoucht I should not have my heart ne my spirits so much at my liberty. I feared greatly lest they should not serve me so well kneelling as they would standing.' Another Consistory was held on October 11, when the bull conferring upon Henry the title of 'Fidei Defensor' was signed by the Pope and the Cardinals.

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[1] Giovanni de Medici (1475-1521).

Shortly after this the quite unexpected death of Pope Leo X launched Clerk into the midst of all the excitement and turmoil of a papal election. In this he exerted himself to the utmost to forward the interests of Wolsey. The Emperor[1] wished to keep in favour with Wolsey, but he had no idea of his becoming Pope, so he promised him his support, and at the same time left no stone unturned to prevent his election. This double dealing of the Emperor did more than anything else to render Clerk's efforts to secure the election of Wolsey ineffective. He did all that a man could do, but the task was beyond the power which he could bring to bear upon it. To be able to follow, as he did, the drift of the multitude of intrigues and counter-intrigues evidenced consummate skill. There were some eight or nine cardinals, each endeavouring to secure his own election, and each was anxious in no way to offend any one of the other candidates, lest they should make an enemy of a possible Pope. Some made more efforts to prevent the election of a particular rival than to secure their own elevation. Clerk sums up a graphic description of the trend of the various party machinations and the preparations for the Conclave in these words :

> Here in this court is now summa licentia in saying evil, in jesting and railing, in setting up slanderous verses and rhymes, and that in all languages, specialy against the Pope that dead is, and his nation, and such as have dependention of them : and there is no cardinal in this court that hath any notable spot but he might as good have it written on his forehead. Haec est Romana libertas. I will not write the specialities, for I know well your grace would abhore the reding as much as should I the writing.

Clerk relates from day to day the arrangements made for the security of the Conclave from outside influence, and for preventing anything being known of what was going on within ; also the care that was taken that no message should be smuggled in with the provisions, which as time went on were gradually reduced, in order to force the cardinals to a decision.

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[1] Charles V.

Notwithstanding the elaborate precautions, rumours were in circulation every day of the course that the voting was taking. When it became clear that no cardinal who was present could secure a majority, Clerk was in great hopes that they would elect Wolsey, but the choice fell upon Adrian, 'a man unknown and not spoken of.' Wolsey had been proposed, and on the first scrutiny secured nine votes, on the second twelve, and on the third nineteen. He was, however, objected to on account of his youth and his determination, and because he 'favored not all the best the Emperor.' Had it not been for the Emperor's secret opposition it is not unlikely that he would have been elected.

After the election was over Clerk debated in his mind whether he should return at once to England without orders, as he was afraid, he says, that Wolsey might send 'me thither in such haste that my short and thick carcase should not be able to endure the journey.' He remained, however, until August (1522).

On October 20 he was appointed Master of the Rolls, with the custody of the Hospital of Converts, and was allowed two pipes of Gascon wine yearly.

On March 12, 1523, a Commission was issued empowering him 'to conclude with Adrian VI, Charles V, the duke of Milan, and the Swiss, a defensive and offensive treaty against those who attack their allies, and the enemies of the Christian religion.' In this document he is styled John, Bishop of Bath and Wells. With this commission he proceeded to Rome, where he arrived on June 3. He was received with much ceremony, and the treaty was shortly afterwards signed; but Adrian's pontificate was brief, for on September 14 he died, and before the breath was out of his body the ferment and excitement of another election were already seething. 'It is hard to say,' Clerk writes to Wolsey, 'where the garland shall light.' He believed that Giulio de Medici[1] had great hopes of obtaining it for himself; but if he failed to do this, Clerk thought that he was well disposed towards Wolsey, and 'it is very likely that this diadem shall light upon your head.' He urges, however, the necessity of Wolsey's presence, saying 'he would then be as sure of it as of York, the proudest of them all would no more look for it than they would go to Jerusalem upon their thomby.' Wolsey gave Clerk instructions, with the King's consent, to do his utmost to promote his election, concluding with these words:

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[1] He was the son of Giuliano de Medici, a nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and cousin of Pope Leo X.

> My Lord of Bath, the king hath willed me to write unto you that his grace hath a marvellous opinion of you; and ye knowing his mind as ye do, his highness doubteth not but this matter shall be by your policy set forth in such wise as that the same may come to the desired effect.

Clerk was further instructed not to refuse any reasonable offers, especially from the young men, who, it was suggested, were generally the most needy.

The cardinals had already entered the Conclave before Wolsey's letters had even been despatched, and Clerk could do but little, especially as he complained that at the last election he had word out of the Conclave daily by secret ways, but now no advice can be sent in or out. After sitting for fifty days the assembled cardinals elected Giulio de Medici, and he assumed the title of Clement VII. The election over, Clerk was fully engaged with political negotiations, and with his endeavours to obtain the confirmation of Wolsey's legatine powers, with, if possible, considerable amplifications. And this was not all; he was at the same time expecting his own consecration, which, notwithstanding the little thought and attention that he had given to his ecclesiastical duties, he could not regard altogether with indifference. Writing on December 2, he says he is to be consecrated the week following, and adds: 'I pray God send me grace to behave myself henceforth accordingly in this high and holy order whereunto most unworthily I have been called only by your grace.' He also thanks Wolsey for allowing him to enjoy the fruits of his benefices till Michaelmas last. Clerk remained in Rome for about two years after this, during which time he was, almost without intermission, occupied in negotiating with the Pope for the bestowal of the extraordinary legatine powers upon Wolsey which he so anxiously desired, together with certain other indulgences. At length nearly all that he desired and asked for was granted. Wolsey was immensely pleased with his ambassador's success, and the latter was most grateful for the praise and thanks that he received, especially that 'his grace had added a few lines in his own most sacred hand.'

Clerk's recall in 1525 caused universal regret among all with whom he had come in contact. On his taking leave of the Pope, his Holiness gave him a diamond ring from his own finger, saying that it was no reward, but a remembrance between them in time coming. The ring was worth 500 ducats, and Clerk wrote to Wolsey that he esteemed it more highly than any jewel, but he would think more of it still when he saw it on his own finger, to whom he had dedicated it, as he ought to do all the rest. He was also bringing home for him a Spanish mule which had no equal in the country, and he wrote, 'I do punish mine own body to spare her for your grace.'

On his return to England he was appointed one of the Council to attend the King; he was also made president of a commission to examine heretics as to their possession of books by Luther, and their belief in his tenets.

He did not, however, long remain in England. Wolsey again required his valuable services abroad. This time it was in the delicate negotiations with France, when the hand of Mary, then only eleven years old, was offered to the French king in order to cement an alliance between the two countries. His letters written during his stay at the Court of France are, as usual, full of interesting anecdote; he tells Wolsey everything, even when he had to relate his own deliberate untruthfulness, which, however, he appears to regard as an accepted principle of diplomacy: 'after that I had ripely pondered and studied upon the contents in your Grace's said letters, next day after, I went unto the King, who, upon seeing me, demanded of me what tidings. I said I had no letters from your Grace, albeit I said I had letters from a secret friend, who thought' &c.

But the life of an ambassador at the French Court had its lighter side. Clerk on occasion hunted with the King, and he and the Papal legate and other ecclesiastics did not consider it beneath their dignity to take part in entertainments of a convivial character. He relates that after supper one evening they 'arrayed themselves in maskering habits and passed three or four hours in dancing until midnight and past.' He describes, at another time, a great dinner that had taken place after the King had taken the oath to keep the treaty concluded with England, when he says the

> King was very merry all dinner time, and had much communication with the Legate, with us, and with divers other lords which stood about him; some leaning on his chair, and some upon his table, all much more familiarly than is agreeable to our English manners. After dinner two or three hours he never departed from open presence, but for the most part ever with us was in merry communication about hunting and desports.

In August of this year (1527) Wolsey was himself in France, and he sent Clerk back to England, as there was no one whom he trusted so well to advise the King in his own absence on matters connected with the divorce. The next year Clerk was again in Paris, actively engaged in securing the influence of France on the King's side in this business, and in August he was deputed to accompany Campeggio to England. It was intended that the journey should be conducted with much pomp and ceremony; but the plans were somewhat marred, as the Cardinal was suffering from a bad attack of gout, and he had to be carried in a litter, 'for,' Clerk wrote, 'he cannot ride, his feet being not able to abide the sqwasse of the stirrup ne his hands to hold the bridle.' It was a great aggravation to Clerk that Wolsey had decided that Campeggio should reside at Bath Place during his sojourn in England, not, indeed, as Clerk's guest, but in occupation of his palace. Clerk wrote angrily to Stephen Gardiner:

> If there is no remedy but that the Cardinal must lie in my house, I must take it patiently. It is strange that as there are

other houses better than mine men cannot be contented with them. I should like to know where I am to lodge. My lord's Grace must give his commandments to the owners, or else my folks will not be admitted. I have told my servants to sue to you, and to no one else except Tuke. Do for me in this case as ye would I should do for you.

Another letter followed in the same strain; but it is characteristic of the bishop that he wrote to Wolsey, 'I am right willing that he be lodged in Bath Place as I would be to do the Kings highness service in any other thing that it shall please his highness to command me.'

Clerk was appointed one of the Queen's 'Councillors,' together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Rochester, and others, and when the trial came on for hearing in June of the next year (1529), he and the Bishop of Lincoln, as apparitors for the two Legates, summoned the King and Queen to appear. The Queen was most anxious that the King should be cited to appear before the Pope at Rome, and Clerk consulted Wolsey as to the advice he should give her. It has been said that in taking this course Clerk betrayed the interests of the Queen; but such an accusation is certainly not justifiable. His code of morality gave him no scruples in telling a direct falsehood, if he thought it necessary, in promoting the interests he was serving, and he was ready with equal facility to change his religious opinions (which were never very deep) when it seemed advantageous so to do; but that he would stoop to betray the interests he was entrusted to promote is absolutely at variance with the whole tenor and character of his life. There is no reason for doubting that he honestly believed that no one was better able to advise him than Wolsey, and the latter's opinion, that it would be highly dangerous for her to cite the King to Rome, was fully justified by circumstances, the full bearing of which none knew better than he did. The view that Clerk honestly did his best for her is borne out by his action afterwards, both in the House of Lords and in Convocation. When in the former the opinions of the Universities on the illegality of the marriage were presented, he successfully stifled the discussion upon them; and when in the latter the question was brought forward whether the Pope had the power to grant a dispensation for the marriage between the King and Katherine, he gave his vote in favour of the Pope's capability to do so.

It is not unlikely that it was in a great measure in consequence of his decided advocacy of the Queen's cause that, for many years after this, he was not employed upon any diplomatic work; though probably Wolsey's fall had much to do with the supersession of one who had been his most trusted and confidential lieutenant. There was certainly no open breach with the King. His name was included among those who were liable to punishment under the Statute of Præmunire; but he received the King's pardon, and he was present at the coronation of Anne Boleyn in Westminster Abbey, and also at the swearing in of Sir Thomas More as Lord Chancellor.

His freedom from diplomatic employment enabled him to employ his energy upon ecclesiastical matters, on which, up to that time, he had bestowed little attention. He sat in judgment upon heretics who had imbibed more or less the views and tenets of Luther, though his own convictions of their evil tendencies cannot have been very strong; but he was ready to punish them because they rebelled against constituted authority. When the time came that the majesty of the law so required, he signed without hesitation the acknowledgment of the King's supremacy and the renunciation of the jurisdiction of the See of Rome and of all allegiance to any foreign potentate, and he issued injunctions to his clergy for publishing the same in their several parishes and for erasing the name of the Bishop of Rome from the service-books. It seems probable that during the next few years, which proved to be his last, he devoted himself mainly to the affairs of his diocese.

In 1540 he was once more called upon by the King to undertake a diplomatic mission, being sent to the Duke of Cleves with the somewhat unpleasant task of explaining the King's reasons for declining to make his sister Queen of England. On his return he, with several of those with him, was taken ill at Dunkirk, the result, it was believed, of poison.

Some died, and, expecting that his own end was near, he made his will, which is dated September 23. It commences[1] :—

> In dei nomine Amen. I John busshop of Bath being sick in my body and of pfytt memory make my testament and last will in forme and fashion following ffirst I bequeath my soule to Almightie god and my body to be buryed in the principall churche of the towne of Callais and there to have such dooles & distributions to po^{r} people, suche number of masses for my soul &c.

At his month's mind, further distributions were to be made, both at the place of his burial, and at Wells. To the Cathedral there he bequeathed his mitre, and five copes of damask, two white and three red, and £100 to the King. His will also contained the following further bequests :

> to the Erle of hampton lorde pryvie seale my two gilted standing potles, to my Lord of Sussex my mule & barbers bason of silver, to my lorde of Dunelme my best Sapher in a Ring wrought with amel for that other is but cōnterfet, to my lorde of Winchester my bell of silver, to my Lord Russell Lord Admiral a bason & an ewer of silver,

and he desired them all to have him in remembrance, and to pray for him. There were other legacies to his chaplains and servants, to the poor Alms house at Wells, to his mother, brother, and his brother's children, and he further ordained :

> I will have a gravestone & wrythen theruppon Hic iacet Johēs Epūs Bathonīen et Wellēn Anglicus qui cuꝰ obysset plures insignes legationes tandem obiit diem suꝰ in legatione Clevensis Anno dn̄i Millimō quꝰ gentesimo quadragesimo.

The bishop, however, partially recovered, and was able to be moved to the Minories, where he died on January 3. He[2] was buried within the precinct, and the inscription which he had himself composed was duly inscribed on brass, with the addition of 'Januar : ' to the date, and at the end 'cujus anime propitietur Altisimus.' Weaver, writing in 1631, tells us that this inscription was then in the church of St. Botolph Aldgate, and evidently implies that his body, as well as the inscription, had been removed from the Minories, but beyond this there is no historical evidence that his body had been translated. There seems very little doubt that the interior of the Church of the Minories was entirely remodelled in 1568, and that then all the ancient monuments were broken up or removed, and possibly Bishop Clerk's brass went with the rest, and was for a time saved from destruction by the vestry of St. Botolph's, to be at a later date relegated to oblivion by their successors.

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[1] S.H. Alenger, 20.

[2] Godwin, *De Praesulibus*, p. 387.

As, for a considerable portion of his episcopate, Clerk was wholly unable to give any attention to the affairs of his diocese, he deputed his duties in that respect to suffragans, viz. William Abbot of Bruton, and Thomas Abbot of Montacute, and in 1538 he appointed a third, William Finch, Prior of Bremore, under the title of Bishop of Taunton.

William Knight

William Knight, who succeeded Clerk as Bishop of Bath and Wells, was a few years older than his predecessor in the See. The course of the most active years of their lives was shaped on very similar lines ; both were faithful and devoted servants of Wolsey, and extensively employed by him in foreign missions, though the Cardinal had far more confidence in Clerk, and trusted him much more implicitly.

Little is known of Knight's early life, beyond the fact that he was educated at Winchester College, and New College, Oxford. The former he entered in 1487, and the latter in 1491. Two years afterwards he was elected a fellow, and two years later again (1495) he left Oxford, to take up the appointment of Secretary to King Henry VII, an office he held for the remainder of that monarch's life. He also, for a few years, acted in a similar capacity under Henry VIII, and again took up these duties a quarter of a century later, reading the King's letters to him and conducting his correspondence. He received his first appointment as an ambassador in 1512. A combined expedition had been arranged with Ferdinand of Spain against the French, and Knight was ordered to accompany the English army, which was placed under the command of the Marquis of Dorset, who was destined, as Duke of Suffolk, to be one of Knight's successors in the possession of the Minories. This was a new experience for Knight, and one which he found little to his taste. His account of the utter mismanagement of the expedition, and its disastrous results, is pitiful in the extreme. They set sail from the Isle of Wight on June 3, and they reached the coast of Spain on the 7th. He gives a most deplorable picture of the state of the army after the landing; the sailors had stolen the King's victuals on the voyage, when the soldiers were sea-sick, and so they were entirely without provisions, and, to add to their discomforts, they had to lie nightly under the bushes, as there were no tents, and it rained incessantly. Two months later he wrote again, saying that things were going from bad to worse. Ferdinand had not joined them; instead of doing so, he had been pursuing his own objects by the capture of Navarre, and he put off the English by 'swearing as largely as any nobleman might that all he did attempt or imagine was for the furtherance of our enterprise. Martial exercises are not kept up, the army is unlearned, and have not seen the feats of war, they neglect their instructions, and many of our council may suffer no councel.' As a result of this absolute want of discipline, the troops were becoming mutinous, and demanded increased pay. He begged Wolsey to obtain his recall, but without making his request known, as it might cost him his life, 'he being held in great suspicion there.' On October 4 he wrote again giving details of disloyalty and disaffection among many of the officers themselves, which resulted in their determining to return to England, in opposition to the will and command of the Sovereign. He said that his own life was threatened, and he warned Wolsey himself to be cautious, as he was credited as the author of the war, consequently its ill-success was attributed to him. The expedition soon afterwards returned home, without having attempted to strike a blow.

Knight was in no way responsible for the fiasco, and was soon again employed in negotiations with Ferdinand; but to attempt to follow him in these and other diplomatic enterprises, in which he was engaged for many years to come, would carry us much too far afield, into all the complications of the European politics of that period. We must content ourselves with the statement that, on the whole, Knight proved himself equal to the many difficult tasks that were set him. He was singularly observant, and often saw through the deceptions that universally characterised the diplomacy of the day. No single monarch appears ever to have trusted a brother ruler, or to have ever revealed his real purpose in any transaction. The idea seemed everywhere to prevail, that honesty in policy was an impossibility, and that no ally could be secured except by a promise which had an attractive appearance, but was never intended to be fulfilled. Selfish personal ambition was the motive actuating every Sovereign in his dealings with others. Their armies and their peoples were but pawns in their games. Open agreements would be made with one, at the same time that they were wholly discounted by a secret agreement with another. Knight was sometimes deceived, but, more often than not, he saw through the deception that was being practised, and was able to keep Wolsey informed of the real bearing and the probable results of obscure negotiations. He had probably not the ability that Clerk so manifestly possessed, nor have his letters the like charm of personal anecdote, but he was ever a most useful minister, and did much to further the schemes of Wolsey and his King, and was frequently able to thwart the devices of the other European Powers. It was, indeed, through the able instrumentality of such men as Clerk and Knight, under the direction of that great statesman, the Cardinal of York, that King Henry was able to obtain, and hold, his high position and influence in the councils of Europe.

Another matter, in reference to which Knight was called upon to negotiate, apart from the general political questions of Europe, was the King's divorce. In dealing with this question Knight showed that he did not shrink from the deliberate deception of Wolsey himself when occasion seemed to warrant it, and, curiously enough, there was perhaps no occasion on which he so signally failed to achieve the purpose of his mission. At the time (1527) he had again taken up the duties of Secretary to the King, and it was no doubt the close intimacy that existed between them that moved Henry to despatch him on a secret mission to Rome, to obtain from the Pope,[1] if possible, a dispensation to allow his marriage, without a divorce from Katherine. Not only was the selection of Knight directly contrary to the advice of Wolsey, who did not consider him possessed of the caution and tact necessary to obtain an interview with the Pope, who was then a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, but the King concealed from Wolsey the real motive of the mission. Consequently Knight went armed with two sets of instructions, one from the King for the purpose just stated, the other from Wolsey setting forth that he was to endeavour to obtain a dispensation to allow the King to marry within certain prohibited degrees, after sentence of divorce had been pronounced. He was also to obtain a commission for Wolsey, empowering him to try the question of the validity of the marriage with Katherine. His plan was, accordingly, to endeavour to obtain the first dispensation, and if he were able to do so he was to tell Wolsey that he had succeeded, but not stating what the dispensation was for.

If he failed to obtain the first, but secured the second, Wolsey was not to be told anything about the first. As Wolsey had anticipated, Knight had the greatest difficulty in communicating with the Pope at all. He was nearly murdered on his way to Rome, and though he succeeded in reaching the city he was not able to approach the Castle, and had to content himself with writing to the Pope enclosing his credentials, and the request for the dispensation. The Pope, in reply, promised that he would grant everything that was desired, as soon as he was at liberty. He escaped a few days afterwards and went to Orvieto, where Knight interviewed him, and was terribly mortified to find that the Pope was afraid to fulfil his promises. He dared not offend the Emperor, but at the same time, not wishing to offend Henry, he temporised, telling Knight that, as soon as the Spaniards were out of Italy, the dispensation and the commission should be granted. At length these were given to Knight, under seal, to take home, and he was supremely delighted at what he supposed to be the complete success of his mission, but, to his intense mortification, when the document came to be examined it was found 'to be of no effect or authority.' It was simply a ruse, deliberately planned, to get Knight out of the way. Knight had never before experienced so absolute a failure, or been so bitterly disappointed. The King had not obtained his dispensation, and Wolsey's commission was of so limited a character that it was practically worthless. Knight had done his best, and he had displayed infinite resource; no blame could attach to him for not suspecting the word of the Pope and his advisers. The King's confidence in Knight was in no way shaken by this misadventure, for he was almost immediately employed on a commission to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Low Countries, on which he notably distinguished himself by his ready grasp of the questions involved. Henry VIII. had, from the first, shown a marked appreciation of Knight's abilities and capacity, more so perhaps than did Wolsey. When, in 1514, he sent him on an embassy to the Emperor Maximilian, he[1]

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[1] Clement VII.

> found so much favour from him, that besides the great gifts received from his treasury, he had by letter patent, dated July 14, 1514, a coat of arms granted to him, as a farther token of reward for his many services done for the English King, in exposing his life to danger, wearing it out in continued labours for him, and ready for the future to do the like, if occasion should require. The arms granted to him, by the name and title of William Knight, prothonotary of the apostolic seat, and ambassador from King Henry VIII to Maximilian, the Emperor, are these: parted per fess or and gules, and eagle with two heads displayed sable having on his breast a demi-rose and a demi-sun conjoined into one, counterchanged of the field. Which arms are at this time remaining in one of the south windows of the common refectory of New College.

The arms, however, as recorded at the Herald's College, are thus described: 'Per fess, or, and argent, a rose irradiated, Gules, therefrom issuent two griphon's heads endorsed, Sable.' Notwithstanding the rank which the grant of arms gave him, and the fact that he had already acted as ambassador at the

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[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses.*

Imperial Court, yet, when in 1521 he was sent in a like capacity to the Emperor Charles, the latter objected to the appointment, as he thought that either a nobleman or a prelate should have been sent; but, rather than quarrel with Wolsey, he consented to receive Knight.

The Government of those days was niggardly in the extreme in the provision for the expenses of its embassies, and Knight frequently had to complain of the straits to which he was put for want of money. It is not unlikely that the employment of ecclesiastics was considered economical, as their expenses could, at all events, be partly met by the bestowal upon them of benefices, many of which were held at the same time. Of such Knight certainly had his fair share, inadequate as their united endowments were for meeting the expenses of foreign embassies. The first benefice he received seems to have been the Vicarage of Berton, to which he was appointed in 1492. In 1509 he was instituted to the free chapel of Kilworth, in Lincolnshire. In 1514 was added the Vicarage of All Saints, Bread Street, and Chartham in Kent, but these two he resigned the next year, when he received the Vicarage of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, Lincolnshire, and the Deanery of the Collegiate Church of Newark, Lincolnshire. During the next eleven years he received successively the Prebends or Canonries of Farendon-cum-Balderton in Lincoln Cathedral, Chamberlainwood in St. Paul's, Horton in Salisbury, Levair in Bangor, Hazelbury in Wells, and a stall in St. Stephen's by Westminster Palace, in addition to the Rectory of Ronald Kirk, Yorkshire, and the Vicarage of Bangor, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

He also held the livings of Bolton in Londesdale, Clapham, Easingwold, Thornton Steward, and the Chapel of Restall, all in Yorkshire. He was also made Archdeacon of Chester in 1522, of Huntingdon in 1523, and of Richmond in 1529. To his stall in St. Stephen's was attached a mansion in Canon Row, which he made his residence when in London. This house was, by Act of Parliament 27 Henry VIII (1526), assured to the see of Norwich on its voidance by Knight. Whether he held all these benefices together (with the exception of the two he is known to have resigned) is uncertain, but it seems probable that he retained most, if not all, of them, in which case he must have been the possessor at one time of ten livings, six prebends, three archdeaconries, and a deanery, in addition to being a King's Chaplain. In the latter capacity he was present in 1520 at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and, as Archdeacon of Richmond, he was present at the baptism of Edward VI. How far Knight was able to fulfil the several duties of the many ecclesiastical offices which he held, and from which he drew the stipends, we can only conjecture. When he was abroad, the work of necessity must have been entirely left to others ; that he gave some attention to them when he was in England, we have evidence in rather a protracted correspondence in reference to certain prerogatives which he claimed to exercise as Archdeacon of Richmond, and asserted that his predecessors had always enjoyed. He said that he had, within the archdeaconry, the right to exercise episcopal jurisdiction, and he was therefore entitled to examine candidates for Holy Orders, and present them to the Archbishop of York for ordination, and that the latter had no right to reject them. This claim the Archbishop (Edward Lee) resisted, and a pretty quarrel ensued. They both appealed to Cromwell, and Knight, having obtained the support of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, wrote that, like all his predecessors, he had episcopal jurisdiction, 'but my Lord that now is, deals very uncharitably with me. Immediately after he entered my diocese he called my official before him, and handled him unjustly. Because he refused to obey him, he cursed my official, who is now absolved in the Court of Arches.' Knight obtained an injunction against the Archbishop in the court of Chancery, and also took steps to appeal to the Pope. The Archbishop contended very properly that neither custom nor composition could discharge him from examining those for whose ability he must answer, and he added 'for whom the canons punish me if I order any unable.' Except on the ground of prescriptive right, Knight's contention seems to have been highly unreasonable, but he fought with all his might for what he considered to be his inherited authority, and the Archbishop certainly lost his temper much less than did Knight. The former wished to refer the matter to arbitration, but to this Knight would not consent. Unfortunately we are left in the dark as to the way in which the dispute was eventually settled.

On the death of Bishop Clerk, Knight was appointed his successor, whereupon he resigned all his other numerous preferments. He was consecrated on Sunday, May 29, 1541,[1] 'by Nicholas Bishop of Rochester, by virtue of the Archbishop's letters to him, assisted by Richard Suffragan of Bedford, in the chapel of the said Bishop of Bath's house situate in the Minories without Aldgate.' Of his work during the six years that he presided over the See of Bath and Wells we know little; he has, however, left behind him two memorials which speak clearly of the character of his episcopal rule: the one is the fountain in the Market Place, and the other is the pulpit in the nave of the Cathedral. The former was erected, in conjunction with Dean Woolman; and was intended for the benefit of those who frequented the cathedral city on market days. It bears the following inscription:

> Ad honorem Dei omnipotentis, et commodum pauperum mercatorum Welliæ frequentantium, impensis Gulielmi Knight Episcopi et Richardi Wooleman hujus ecclesiæ Cathedralis olim Decani, hic locus erectus. Laus Deo, Pax Vivis, Requies Defunctis. Ann. Dom. 1542.

It is not certain whether the pulpit was erected by himself or to his memory, but in either case it is a testimony to the value he placed upon the necessity and the power of preaching. It is traditionally believed that his body rests beneath the pulpit, though of this there is no record, and it seems probable that the pulpit is the memorial he desired should be erected, and for which he left the means by will, nothing else being considered more fittingly to represent the character and teaching of the deceased bishop. Around the pulpit is inscribed the text: 'Preache thou the worde, be fervent in season and out of season, Reprove, rebuke, exhort in all longe sufferynge and doctryne. 2. Timo.' On the front of the pulpit his arms are carved, they are also depicted on stained glass in one of the windows. He died on September 29, 1547. In[1] his will, which is dated August 12, 1547, he makes, among other dispositions, the following :—

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[1] Strype's *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, vol. ii. part 2, page 168; also *Reg. Cranmer*, page 261.

> I bequeath . . . . my body to be buryed w^{tin} the Cathedrall churche of Welles And for the charges of my buriall bringing downe of my corpes and making of my Tumbe i bequeath one hundreth poundes . . . . unto the poure people of the hospitall at Welles x^{l} unto the convicts there xl^{s} . . . . unto the newe College in Oxford where I was sometime fellowe xl^{l} Item to the College of Wynchester where I was brought up in my childhode xx^{l}.

There are also bequests to the poor in various places, and 'to euery prison in London and Southwarke xl^{s} to the release of the poor prisoners there' and for the saying of masses 'obit' and 'placebo dirige' for the benefit of his soul. His 'basyn & an ewer of sylver wth ij Candelsticks for an Aulter and sacring bell all of sylver' he left to the Cathedral. 'The profits of the standings within the crosse at Welles that I made there at my cost' were to be for ever for the profits and release of the Dean and Chapter and the choristers. His barber's basin 'and pot of sylver' he left to 'M^{r} Juge Portman.'

William Barlow

William Barlow, who was translated to the See of Bath and Wells after the death of Bishop Knight, was a man of very different calibre from his two famous predecessors. Essentially a time-server, he managed, except during the reign of Mary, to obtain for himself one preferment after another, but certainly, as far as the temporalities were concerned, he proved himself in more than one instance a somewhat faithless guardian of the interests which it was his duty to uphold. He was a great writer, especially on subjects bearing on the Reformation, but he had not always the courage of his opinions, as he was quite ready to retract when he found it politic to do so. Such too was his indiscretion and levity, that Cranmer never trusted him. He would sometimes say at the conclusion of a conference, 'This is all very true, but my brother Barlowe in half an hour will teach the world to believe it but a jest.' He will perhaps be longest remembered in history as one of the consecrators of Archbishop Parker, in reference to which an additional interest has been aroused from the fact that no record of Barlow's own consecration is forthcoming.

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[1] S.H. Aline, 48.

He was born in Essex, and brought up in the house of the Canons regular of the Order of St. Austin, at St. Osyth in Essex, and afterwards in the house of the same Order at Oxford. He held successively the Priories of Blackmore, Tiptree, Lees, Bromhill, Haverfordwest, and Bisham; he was also Rector of Cresingham in the diocese of Norwich. In 1534 he was one of the King's Councillors, and as such was sent as ambassador to Queen Margaret of Scotland, Henry VIII's sister. The following year he was made Bishop of St. Asaph, and the next was translated to St. Davids. There he tried to force advanced Reformation doctrines upon his chapter, and, failing utterly, he revenged himself by quitting the palace, stripping the lead therefrom, and otherwise despoiling the See. On February 3, 1548, he was translated to Bath and Wells, and evidence of his destructive hand upon the property of his new See remains to this day in the beautiful ruin in the palace grounds of the once magnificent banqueting hall, from which he stripped the lead almost as soon as he had entered into possession of the Palace. It is quite possible that the Protector Somerset, when he appointed Barlow to Wells, knew well both the weakness of his character and his greed, and reckoned that he would fall an easy prey to his schemes for spoliation of the possessions of the Church. In fact, on May 20 Somerset succeeded in filching for the Crown a very large portion of the property of the bishopric, for which Barlow received a certain amount of ready cash, but otherwise a very inadequate return. Among other property, which he thus parted with so unjustifiably, was the Minories. On the accession of Mary he was deprived of his bishopric, ostensibly because (notwithstanding that he had been Prior of many monasteries) he was married, and probably also because of his reforming zeal. He was committed to prison, but, professing to recant, he was afterwards released and retired to Germany, where he lived in great poverty, taking charge of the English congregation at Embden.

On the death of Mary he returned to England, and was made Bishop of Chichester and a Prebendary of Westminster. He died in 1568, and was buried at Chichester. He had eleven children; one son survived him, as well as five daughters, all of whom married bishops. His wife (Agatha Wellsbourne) died in extreme old age, in the year 1595.

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE RECESSION OF THE MINORIES TO THE CROWN BY THE BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS TO ITS PURCHASE BY QUEEN ELIZABETH, A.D. 1548-1563

Acquisition of the Minories by Edward VI by exchange—Granted to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk—Sale to Lord Thomas Grey, Lord John Grey, Mr. George Medley, and Mr. John Harrington—Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, and the part taken therein by the owners of the Minories—Execution of the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey, and Lord Thomas Grey—Forfeiture to the Crown of Lord Thomas's and Lord John Grey's shares in the property—Removal of Lord John Grey's attainder, and the restoration to him of his own and his brother's shares—Sale of the Minories to the Marquis of Winchester, by whom it was conveyed to Queen Elizabeth

On May 21, 1548, Bishop Barlow, by deed,[1] ratified, approved, and confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Wells, made an exchange of various rectories, messuages, tenements, etc., with King Edward VI, including 'the whole of that my messuage called "Bathe Place" formerly called "le myneryes" in the parish[2] of S^t Botolph without Algate London.' The latter remained in the hands of the King until the sixth year of his reign, when he granted it, by patent, to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, together with all profits accruing from the feast of St. Michael, in the first year of his reign. It seems most probable, however, that the Duke had, as Marquis of Dorset, been practically in possession of the property, and in occupation of the 'Minory House,' from the time that it was parted with to the King by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for we find[3] that the Duke regularly paid the tenth (£4 6*s.* 4*d.*)

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[1] R.O. *Close Rolls*, 2 Ed. VI. part 4, m. 2; also Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. xv p. 171.

[2] This is, of course, an error.

[3] Land Revenue Office, *Receivers' Accounts*, Ed. VI. 1 & 2, 3 & 4, 5 & 6 (Latin). In these accounts the statement is made that the Minories had been granted to the Marquis of Dorset by Act of Parliament in the thirtieth year of Henry VIII. It is difficult to imagine how such an error can have originated.

to the King during these years. This assumption is further supported by the fact that, neither in the particulars for the grant to the Duke, nor in the patent itself, is the name of any occupier given of the great house, as is the case with all the other tenements; he was also to receive all arrears from the first year of the King's reign. A full description of the property is contained in the 'Particulars[1] of lands and possessions of the late house or monastery called "le Myneries" without Aldgate London'; but as the substance of this has already been given above,[2] it will be sufficient to quote the concluding paragraphs, which are transcribed in English.

The kings Ma^{ts} pleasure is that the Duke of Suffolkes grace shall have in fe simple to hym and his heyers for euꝰ the hole howse called the minores wthoute aldgate in London wth the tenements therto belonginge Wherefore make a graunt unto his grace accordingly

Wth the arrears from the feast of Saynt Mychell
in the ferst y^{r} of his magestys reign & to
hold the cheff house in Capyte & the rest in
Socage.

Memorandum that I Duke of Suffolke am to have of the kings Maiesties gyfte the pticler pcelles hereunto annexed being of such clere yerely value as in the same is specyfied and conteyned In Wytnes whereof to this bill I have subscribed my hand and set my seale the XXVIth daye of October in the Sixte yere of the reigne of our soueraigne Lorde Kinge Edward the syxte.

H. Suffolke.

The following[3] is the grant, by patent, of the Minories to the Duke:—

The King to all to whom &c. Greeting, Know that we of our special favour and of our certain knowledge and by our mere motion give and grant and by these presents give and grant to our dearest cousin and trusty Councillor Henry Duke of Suffolk all

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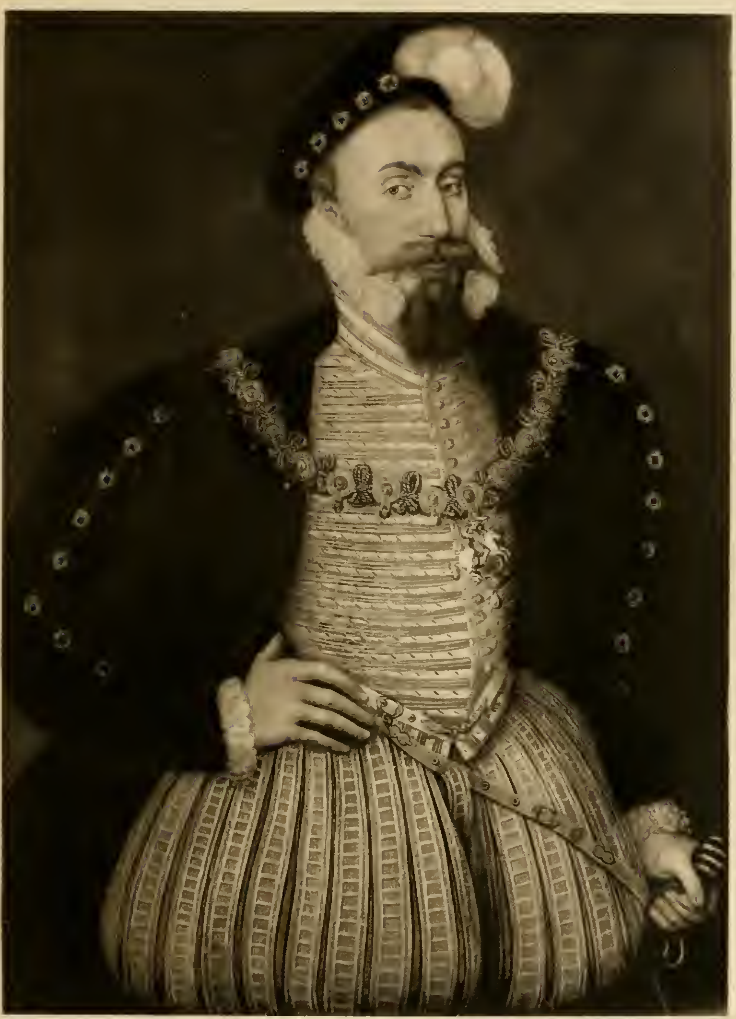
[1] R.O. *Particulars of Grants*, 6 Ed. VI., Henry Duke of Suffolk, Sec. I. (Latin).

[2] See chap. iv.

[3] R.O. *Rot. Pat.* 6th Ed. VI. part 8, m. 10 (January 13, 1553) (Latin). The original patent, beautifully engrossed with a portrait of Edward VI., is preserved in the R.O. (*Antient Charters*, *Augmentation*, box 42). This box also contains twenty-two other documents, being various conveyances, leases, etc., of the Minories and portions thereof, from the time of the grant to the Duke of Suffolk, to its purchase by Queen Elizabeth on September 22, 1563.



Emery Walker Ph.

Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk K.G.
From a portrait by Joannes Corvus

[illegible]

our capital house messuage and mansion commonly called 'le mynery house' with the appurtenances situated within the site and precinct of the late monastery commonly called 'le mynoresse' without and near Algate London together with one stable three gardens and all our houses edifices chambers and other commodities profits emoluments and hereditaments whatsoever appertaining or belonging to the said capital house messuage & mansion situated and being without Algate London and formerly belonging and appertaining and parcel and possession then lately being of the late house or monastery called 'le mynoresse' without Algate London. And also all that our great mesuage and one garden with appurtenances lately in the tenancy and occupation of Elizabeth late Countess of Kildare deceased also &c.[1] . . . and all other houses edifices gardens barns stables dove cotes enclosed gardens orchards curtilages empty plats separate lands and hereditaments whatsoever being within the site precinct ambit and circuit of the said late monastery called the mynoresse and all walls and other premises besides included & contained And also those two our messuages and tenements with apurtenances now or lately in the tenure or occupation of William Bleke & John Meryall situate and being in the parish of S^t^ Botolph without Algate London and formerly belonging and pertaining and parcel of the possessions then being of the said late house or monastery called the mynoresse and also our one messuage and tenement and garden &c. . . . and reversions whatsoever of all and singular the premises and parcells rents and annual profits whatsoever due from the leases and grants of the premises or of any parcel in as ful free and entire manner and form as any Abbess or prioress of the said late monastery possessed or held or ought to have held the same and in as full free and ample a manner and form as all and singular the premises came into our hands or into the hands of our dear father Henry the eighth late king of England by right or pretext of the dissolution of the late said monastery or by right or pretext of any Act of Parliament or by any other way by right or title came or ought to have come and is or ought to be in our hands. Which said messuages land tenements and other premises in addition to seventeen shillings and ten pence annually paid and to be paid to the heirs of Lord Audly of Walden and in addition to fifty three shillings and four pence annually allowed for a stipend or sustentation of a Chaplain to perform divine service and administer the sacraments and sacramental things to the inhabitants within the circuit and precinct of the late monastery and in addition to a hundred shillings allowed for the fee of the warden of the said capital house and the collector of rents and auditor of the premises which are now valued at the clear annual value of thirty seven pounds eleven shillings and five pence halfpenny The said messuages tenements gardens and all other and singular the premises above expressed and specified the said Henry Duke of Suffolk his heirs and assigns for ever is to have and to hold and enjoy with the appurtenances except the said capital messuage house and mansion of us our heirs and successors as of our Manor of East Grenwich in our County of Kent by fealty only and not in capite, and to hold the said capital house messuage and mansion of us our heirs and successors in capite, by the service of a fortieth part of a knights fee for all rents services and demands whatever and lastly of our ample grace we give and grant and by these presents we give and grant to the aforesaid Henry Duke of Suffolk all the outcomings rents reversions and profits of all and singular the premises from the feast of S^t Michael the Archangel in the first year of our reign to be held and had by the same Duke by our gift without account or any other demand to us our heirs or successors in any way to be rendered paid or made although otherwise expressed. In witness whereof we have caused these letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster on the thirteenth day of January in the sixth year of our reign by writ of Privy Seal. And by the aforesaid authority of Parliament.

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[1] The passages here omitted give descriptions of several portions of the property similar to those already given above.

Shortly after this, the Duke further received a grant of the Priory of Sheen, which had reverted to the Crown, on the attainder of Edward, Duke of Somerset, and he then left the Minories, and took up his residence at Sheen. By a licence[1] of alienation dated at Westminster May 23, in the seventh year of his reign, the King gave power to the Duke, on the payment of sixty shillings and eight pence to himself, to alienate

all that capital house or mansion commonly called 'le mynery house' with the appurtenances situated within the site and precinct of the late monastery commonly called the mynoresse without and near Algate London and &c. . . . . to Lord Thomas

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* 7 Ed. VI. part 1, m. 17 (Latin), and original patent R.O. *Antient Charters, Augmentation*, box 42.

Gray, Lord John Gray, George Medley Esq. & John Harryngton Esq. the same to be received and held by them their heirs &c by the same services as heretofore.

The conveyance of the property was executed two days later, the Duke receiving the sum of £400.

Lord Thomas and Lord John Grey were the Duke's younger brothers; the former is described by Holinshed as a 'proper gentleman and one that had served right valiently both in France and Scotlande, in the dayes of the late Kinges Henrie and Edwarde.'

George Medley was the Duke's half-brother, being the son of Margaret Wotton (daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Boughton Malherbe) by her first husband William Medley, described as of Whitnash, co. Warwick, and Tiltey, co. Essex. Margaret married, secondly, Thomas Grey, the second Marquis of Dorset, and became the mother of Henry, the third Marquis, afterwards created Duke of Suffolk, and of Lord Thomas, and Lord John Grey. Henry Grey married Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Mary, who was sister of Henry VIII and widow of Louis XII of France. Frances afterwards married Adrian Stokes. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, and the monument was erected by Stokes. The Medleys came of an old Yorkshire family, tracing their descent from William de Methely of Thornhill in the time of Edward I.

There is nothing to show in what way the four joint owners shared the property, but, whatever the arrangement may have been, it was destined to be of short duration. The very next year the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt broke out, and from the part that some, at all events, of the quartet took in it all were more or less involved in its consequences.

Suffolk[1] left Sheen on January 25 in order to join Wyatt, and sent a message to his brothers to leave London and follow him that same evening; this they did, taking with them Harrington, whom they were most anxious to persuade to throw in his lot with them. They stayed that night at the house of Mr. Wroth at Cheshunt, and the next day Harrington left them and returned to London. Apparently Medley kept clear of the whole affair, but, not unnaturally, suspicion fell upon him. The following letter from Bishop Gardiner to the Secretary of State, dated January 27, testifies to this, and also to the extent to which Harrington had been implicated.

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[1] *Chron. of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, pp. 53, 70, 71.

> In [1] the morning I thought good to sirch the Mynoresse and Medles lodging there for lr̄es and among other found a letter lately written by Harrington which Harrington cam to me this night and after examination have taken him by occacion of that lr̄e and kepe wth me as prisoner this night intending in the morning to send him to the tw^{re} fr he hath confessed howe on Sunday at night the L^{d} John Grey took him where Wroth was and spake with Wroth and him to get a guyde to lead him the way to Saincte Albans because he was commanded by the queene he said to levye men in his countrie in all the East and more I can not get.

The history of Wyatt's rebellion is too well known to make it necessary to pursue the subject further here, beyond tracing how it ultimately fared with the four owners of the Minories. Gardiner, true to his word, sent Harrington to the Tower, but not till February 6. The same day the Duke of Suffolk and Lord John Grey were brought in under a strong escort. Lord Thomas had escaped into Wales, and it was not till the 20th that he was imprisoned; Medley followed on the 26th, so by that date the former owner of the Minories and his unhappy daughter were no more, and its then owners were all lodged in the Tower.

'Lord Thomas [2] was tried and condemned on March 9th. He alledged at the barre that as God sholde judge his soule he meant none other thing but the abolyshing of strangers, and yf that were hye treason the Lorde be mercyfull.' He was not, however, executed until April 28. His [3] body and his head were buried at All Hallows, Barking.

Lord John Grey was not tried till some weeks later; he too was condemned, but was afterwards pardoned on the earnest entreaty of his wife, who was a daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, K.G., granddaughter of the Lord Chamberlain, Sir John Gage, and a sister of the newly created Viscount Montagu. Lord John was released from the Tower on October 30.

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[1] *S.P.* Mary, vol. ii.

[2] *Chron. of Queen Jane and Queen Mary.*

[3] Machyn's *Diary.*

How long Medley was kept in prison does not appear, and there is no record of his ever having been tried, nor seemingly was Harrington. The only accusation of which the latter was charged was the carrying of a letter to the Princess Elizabeth, in whose service his wife was. This may or may not have been connected with the rising. He was kept in the Tower till the 24th of the following June, and was then, with others, removed to the Fleet, and was only released the following January on being bound in £1,000 to 'good abearinge.' He beguiled the time with writing poetry, and inditing petitions[1] to Bishop Gardiner for his release. The following is one of his letters: 'Why my good lorde, must I be thus annoyde for one deed of speciale good wyll to the ladie Elizabeth, in bearynge a letter as was sente from one that had such ryghte to all myne hartie sarvyce.'

His son, Sir John Harrington, was a literary man of some note, and wrote, among other things, a memoir of Bishop Gardiner; and in a letter to Prince Henry of Wales, dated 1606, he thus comments upon Gardiner's treatment of his father:—

> I may truly say this prelate did persecute me before I was born; for my father was, by his command, imprisoned in the Tower for eleven months, for only carrying a letter to the princess Elizabeth, and my Mother was taken from his presence, and obliged to dwell with M^r Topcliff as a heretic. My poor father did send many petitions to the bishop, but in vain as he expended one thousand pounds to get his liberty. Nor had they any comfort but their consciences to beguile this affliction, and the sweet wordes and sweeter deeds of their mistress and fellow prisoner.

As a natural consequence of the attainder of Lord Thomas and Lord John Grey, all their estates were, by Act of Parliament (1 & 2 P. & M., c. 30) forfeited to the Crown; and, with the rest, went their two shares in the Minories. Three years later Mr. Harrington sold his share to Lord John and his wife Mary for £100, the same price as he had given for it. The wife's name was no doubt inserted, as Lord John, though pardoned, was still under attainder, and therefore could not legally hold property—a disability which was not removed till the next reign.

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[1] *Chron. of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, p. 53 (note).

In the first year, however, of Elizabeth's reign an Act of Parliament was passed in which it is decreed :—

> That[1] where the sayd Sir John Greye in the tyme of yo^{r} noble Syster Marye late Queen of this yo^{r} Ma^{ties} Realme of Englande Aswell by the Com̄en lawes of the Realme as also by acte of plemt was attaynted of highe Treason and by reason thereof yo^{r} sayd subiecte standethe and ys a psone in his lynage and bloode corrupted whereby he ys not onely depryved of and from all honour degree estate name and fame but also of and from all Inheritance that maye shoulde or might by possibylytee have com̄en unto him from any his Auncestor or Auncestors to whom he might or should have conveyed or may convey himself as next heire of bloode by any degrees whereby he now remaynethe out of all name and reputac̄on to his greate dyscomfort inwarde grefe and dayly sorrowe——

It is then enacted that he and his heirs shall be 'Restored and enabled in bloode,' and that they may hold and enjoy any property to which they may succeed, but they were to have no claim whatever upon any property that had, by his brother's attainder, passed into the hands of the Crown.

The same year the Queen granted to him by patent[2] various houses and lands in different parts of the country, and

> all those two parts of our capital house messuage or mansion commonly called the mynoresse house with the appurtenances situate within the scite and precinct of the late monastery commonly called the Mynoresse &c. &c. &c. as the same premises came to the hands of Henry 8, Edward 6, or Queen Mary by any pretext of the dissolution of the late monastery of the Minoress or by the attainder of John Lord Grey or Thomas Lord Grey or Henry Duke of Suffolk &c. &c.

He was also to receive 'all the outcomings rents reversions, profits &c.' from the time of his and his brother's attainder.

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[1] *Parl. Roll*, 1 Eliz. c. 20.

[2] *Pat. Roll*, 1 Eliz. part 1, m. 1.

Lord John Grey and Mr. Medley held the property for the next three years as tenants in common, when they then agreed[1] to make a definite partition in proportion to the amount they each possessed in the estate, Lord John being now the owner of three parts, and Mr. Medley of one.

Shortly after this Mr. George Medley died, and was succeeded by his son, Mr. Henry Medley, of the Middle Temple.

By an indenture dated March 22 of the same year, Lord John and his wife Mary sold the whole of their portion of the Minories to the Marquis of Winchester for the sum of £1,000, and on June 10 Mr. Henry Medley sold his portion for £400, reserving, however, 'one tenement lately called ye Laundry and one parcell of ground on the northe side of the grete hall of the Mynoresse.' This tenement &c. had been leased by the Bishop of Bath and Wells to John Moore for 5*s.* a year, and Mr. Medley was to retain it until the term of the lease expired, but he was to pay 2*s.* a year only for it. The Marquis further allowed Mr. George Medley's widow, Mary, to occupy certain tenements during his pleasure, on condition that she kept them in repair.

In addition to the freehold of the Minories the Marquis bought up certain remaining terms of leases, which had been granted by the Bishop of Bath and Wells for ninety-nine years. He paid £80 for the lease of the 'friars hall, 'with parlour, buttery, and friars' chambers, to a Mr. Wm. Harrys, whose father had bought the lease from Mr. 'Ralf' Pylkington. He also paid to William Higham £100 for various tenements, two being described respectively as the 'Brewhouse' and 'Backhouse,' and another 'a chamber w^th^ a study called the ministers lodging w^th^ the Romes and chambers perteyning to the same.'

The Marquis also appears to have obtained a lease of two other tenements still held by Mr. Ralf Pilkington, for which the latter had received nothing, or what he considered an insufficient sum; for,[2] four years later, he petitioned the

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[1] *S.P.* (*Dom.*) Eliz. (1562), vol. xxi. No. 58; also *Antient Charters Augmentation*, box 42.

[2] R.O. *Particulars of leases, Glouc. Roll*, vol. xxvii. 6 Eliz.

Queen to restore him the lease, or to compound with him, the value being estimated by him at 200 marks. Altogether the Marquis paid £1,580, a sum nearly four times that which the Duke of Suffolk had received only ten years previously.

Lord Winchester's object in buying the property is explained in the following letter,[1] addressed by him to 'Sir W^m^ Cecill principal Sec. to the Queen.' This letter further illustrates the difficulties that Elizabeth's ministers experienced in managing their imperious mistress, and in persuading her to spend money, even when it was most urgently needed.

Thre of the Sommers in the great lofte of the ordyñnce house within the Tower be broken and staid by postes and cannot be repayred till all the weight that lieth upon the same be taken away, Which is to muche for the floore by thone halfe and can never be all placid there again and contynue the floore. The Queenes chambers w^th^in her graces lodging be also ouerchargid and must be eased or the ffloores cannot stand.

And there is no housing in the Tower to place yt in. And if the howsing wheare it lieth was able to kepe it, yet wold it there be lost for lacke of rome And what charge armour weapons and powder hathe bene this yeare to the Quene I nede not to wright to you for it is to you well knowne, and therefore it requireth good kiping or els it will in short time not be Worthe half the money wer a great losse to her grace. The said consideracons made me buye the Mynoresse I goo theroughe withall for my self bicause you wrote to me the Quene wold none of it, And without the Quenes ma^tie^ hathe help at my hand in that house I knowe not wheare it is to be had. And there all things maie be well placid a Smithes & Carpenters. Tymber Wheeles lades axeltres cullem cleves and Bowyers without cariage of any of theis things into the Tower w^ch^ shalbe a great commoditie to the tower and a great safegard to the stone bridges. And withdrawn from the tower the comon repairs which is one of the best things. Therefore I thinke best her grace take succo^r^ of that house by paieng rent for or by givinge money for it as I paie, more I will not aske, for I ment the house for her grace At the bygynning for the consideracons aforesayde.

And if it please her grace to take yt at my hand she shall not be so servied with III^ml^£ of her money nor yet haue it readye this yere thoughe her ma^{tie} wold bestow the money. And theise things must have present remedie. Praying you to reade her grace the lre and shew her that i am as lothe to spend her ma^{tie} money otherwise then for the discharge of her debt and for her ordynarie charges, as herself ys, Yet thinges that reqire a present remedie, must nedes be done for otherwise more hurte will followe of yt, And therfore I wold not her highnes should staie in suche things that of necessitie must be holpen.

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[1] *S.P.* Eliz. vol. xxii. (15) March 15, 1562.

And if it please her highnes to comy̅t this matter to me and to her officers ther shall be as good seruice done her grace in this as was in any one thing done sithins her highnes was Quene.

Written the xvth of Marche 1562
Yo^{r} ffrend
Winchestir.

It is hardly likely that the Queen yielded without considerable persuasion, after expressing so strongly her determination to have none of it; but she did give way nevertheless, for on September 22 in the following year, the fifth of her reign (1563), the whole property (excepting and reserving to Mr. Henry Medley all his rights &c. in the lease of the 'Laundry'), 'together with all and singular dedes Evidences Charters Letters pattentes Courte Rowles Copies of Court Rowles Terrars Books of Accompts Rentalls wrytinges and Mynimentes Whatsoever touchinge or conserninge ye saide severall ptes and purpartes of the saide capitall messuage &c.,' was, by indenture,[1] conveyed by the Marquis of Winchester to the Queen, her heirs, successors, and assigns. What the Queen paid the Marquis is not stated, but it was 'for diuerse good and reasonable causes and considerac̄ons him specially movinge.'

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[1] *S.P.* (*Dom.*) Eliz. vol. xxx. No. 3.

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE PURCHASE OF THE MINORIES BY QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE GREAT REBELLION, A.D. 1563–1649

Conversion of Buildings in the Minories into storehouses and workshops for the Ordnance Department—Regulations for its management under the Lieutenant-Generals of the Ordnance—Assignment of a residence for the Lieutenant-Generals—Lieutenant-Generals: Mr. William Bromfield, Mr. Edward Randolph, Sir William Pelham, Sir Robert Constable, Sir George Carew (afterwards Baron Carew and Earl of Totnes), Sir Roger Dallison, Sir Richard Morrison, Sir William Harrington, Sir William Heydon, Sir John Heydon—Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney—Cornelius Dribble

Though the actual purchase of the Minories was not completed till September 22, 1563, it is evident that the Crown had virtually taken possession at the close of the previous year, for a grant was made in November[1] 'to William Allen, for life of the office of porter of Her Magisty's House, called the Minorites now intended to hold munitions belonging to the Ordnance Office in London' at a fee of 8*d*. a day.

It would seem that the great Mansion House was utilised as the principal store house for the ordnance, while other buildings were converted into workshops, and residences for the various officials, one being specially allocated to the Lieutenant-General, for the time being, as his residence. Among the State Papers is a document[2] which, though undated, was most probably issued about this time, containing elaborate regulations 'for the better direction of the office of ordnance within the Tower of London as within the Minorites.' From this it appears that the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance had the chief control of the finances, of which he was ordered to keep correct accounts, and he was never to receive any money 'but in the presens of two of the other officers w^{ch} may take knowledge and kepe note when he receiveth the same the Lieutenant onely giving his bills for the receipt thereof,' and all creditors were to be assembled, and the money paid to them, in the presence of the said officers.

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[1] *S.P.* (*Dom.*) Eliz., Add. 11 (528).

[2] *S.P.* Eliz. 15 (71).

In a document[1] of a later date, referring to Sir Roger Dallison's defalcations, it is stated that in the

> house called the Mynories purchased by Queene Elizabeth of happie memorie were placed her M^{tes} Gun-maker for small shott, and the ladle-maker wth houses and shops convenient for their worke: and likewise her m^{tes} carriage maker and wheelewright for great ordinance and other carriages who besides their shops and dwelling houses had a large timber yarde. The charge and oversight of which place was by pattent granted to the Lieutenant of her ma^{tes} ordinance: who appointed certain large rooms therein for a storehouse, and placed in some dwelling houses there officers belonging to the ordinance. And a Porter for keeping the gate at viii^{d} per diem was appointed by her ma^{tie}.

It is clear from the entries in the registers and the Vestry books, that a considerable part of the precinct continued to be occupied by private persons, some belonging to the wealthier classes, and others of various professions and trades. It is probable that Katherine,[2] Dowager Duchess of Suffolk, widow of Charles Brandon, at this time married to Mr. Richard Bertie, was residing there in 1567, for a servant of hers was buried in that year, and her brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Bertie,[3] the year following, and in the same year there is an entry in the Churchwardens' accounts 'given the same day by the Duches of Suffolk towards the chyrche x^{s}.' It was also rather a favourite place of abode for some of the royal musicians.[4]

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I., 13 (91).

[2] Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, was the fourth wife of Charles Brandon; she was, in her own right, Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, and had been intended for the eldest son of the Duke. The Duke died in 1545, and the Duchess married, about 1553, Richard Bertie, sometime M.P. for co. Lincoln. She died in 1580 at the age of 61. The Lords Willoughby de Eresby, now Earls of Ancaster, and hereditary Lords Great Chamberlain, are her descendants.

[3] Misspelt in the registers 'Barten.'

[4] For further notices of persons resident in the Minories see the chapter on the Registers.

The office of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, at the time when the Crown took possession of the Minories, was held by Mr. William Bromfield.

He was succeeded in 1564 by 'the worshipfull Mr. Edward Randolph Esq.,' but the formal [1] grant bears date July 8, 1566, and bestows upon him the office of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance in England and Berwick, for life, and

> custodian of all that our messuage or mansion house called 'le storehouse' now pertaining to our office of ordnance and situate without the gate of Algate near London and custodian of all and singular the houses edifices curtilages orchards enclosed and open gardens to the same messuage or mansion house belonging or pertaining to hold the same to the said Edward Randolph by himself or sufficient deputy for life with an annuity of 100 marks during his tenure of office with all the same fee and emoluments that William Bromefeld or any other enjoyed.

Curiously enough, he executed [2] a power of attorney on the 23rd of the same month giving authority 'to Sir James Shelly Wythelgrove in Sussex kt. and Robert Gyles of Middle Temple' to manage all his property for him. Probably his health had broken down, and the patent was issued in order to secure to him the revenues, when he could no longer perform the duties pertaining to the office; but he did not long enjoy the profits, as in the following year a successor was appointed, in the person of Mr. William Pelham, of Brocklesby, in the county of Lincolnshire. Mr. Pelham had come into residence certainly by May 20, as on that day his son William was baptised. He was the third son of Sir William Pelham, of Laughton, Sussex, by his second wife, Mary, daughter of William, Lord Sandys of the Vine, near Basingstoke, Hants. In 1560 he was appointed a captain of the pioneers at the siege of Leith, and for the next few years was frequently in active employment in the army. He married, in the first instance, Lady Eleanor Neville, daughter of the Earl of Westmorland; her name occurs in the Churchwardens' accounts for 1568 'Item re^{d} upon satterday the ffirst day of may of the communicants w^{ch} was my lady Mary & my lady

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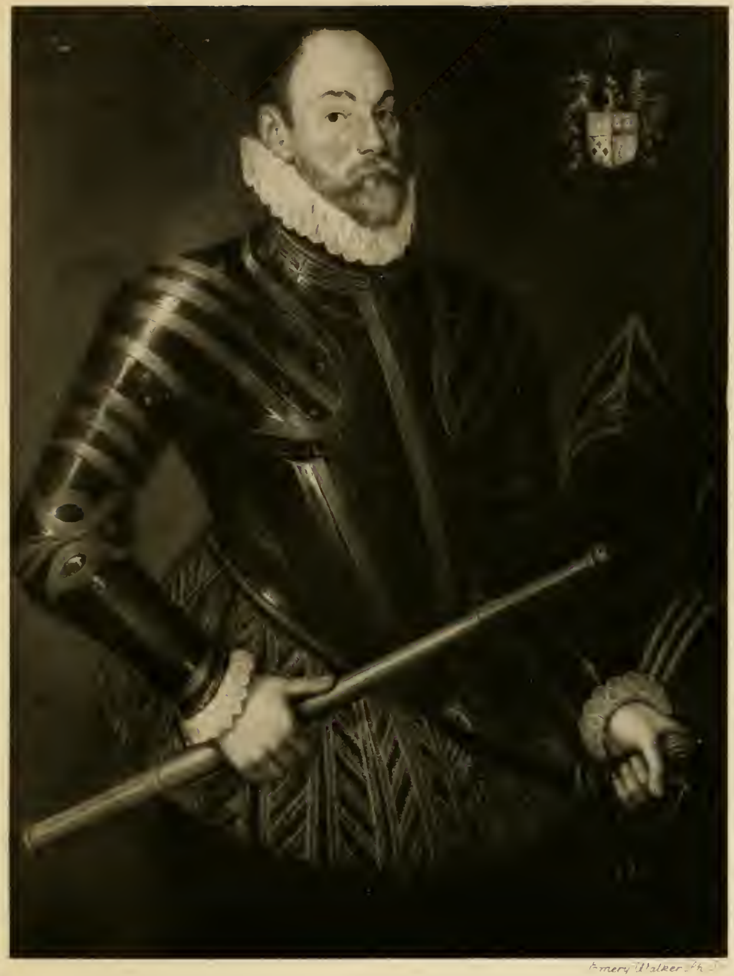
[1] *S.P.* Eliz. 40 (27) (Latin). [2] *S.P.* Eliz. 40 (35).



Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

Sir William Pelham Kt.
From a portrait by Zucchero in the
possession of the Earl of Yarborough

London: Smith Elder & Co. 15 Waterloo Place

elnor & sartayn other w^{ch} received.' Mention is also made of the tithe paid that year for Mr. Pelham's house. Sir William Pelham, as he afterwards became, subsequently married Dorothy, the daughter of Anthony Catesby, of Whiston, county Northampton, and widow of Sir William Dormer.

Lady Eleanor is said to have died in 1574, but the date is uncertain, as is also the place of her burial, though among the State Papers are two copies of the ceremonial appointed for her funeral, both undated. There[1] is extant a beautifully written letter from her, dated at the 'menaris' July 11 to Mr. John Lee at the English house at Antwerp, asking him 'to consell his lordship [her brother, Charles, Earl of Westmorland] to refuse his wicked counsellors and show his duty full mynde to his naturell prince.' The[2] next year the Earl wrote to Pelham urging him to visit him at Antwerp to talk over matters, about which it was not well to write, as 'he wished to become a suitor to the Queen and to deliver the whole grounds of the late rebellion and to discover all such practices as he knows to be in hand.' Sir William was evidently a soldier of vigour and organising capacity; he had no sooner entered upon his duties in the Minories than he drew up a set of rules for a more systematic practice in the use of arquebuses. It is endorsed by Sir William Cecill, as[3] 'M^{r} Pelhams devise for harquibusyers' and runs as follows:—

> A forme or manor howe to have the exersyse of the harquibuses thorowe Englande for the better defence of the same.
>
> That the Queenes Ma^{tie} by the com̄ission or letters to serten spessyall parsons of knowledge and credit in every shire Towns cãrporats declar her stoddy and carre for the advãncement of the forsse and strenght of the Lande, and ther w^{t}all A desyr to Revive the curages of her subictes and better ther days wth bothe plesant and profytable exersyse to too long a season discõntynied.

In every township there was to be a

> felloship or sosyetye of harquebusers wth serten comodytes . . . lybartys and immenytes therunto to be granted as ffolowyth:—
>
> 1. To be called harquebusers of the crown and to wear a

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[1] *S.P.* Eliz. vol. lxxx. (4).
[2] *S.P.* Eliz. Add. 21 (27).
[3] *S.P.* Eliz. vol. xliv. (60).

scochian of silver with an harquebuse under a crown Royall and to be promised preferment to standing garrisons.

2. To be free of the towns where they dwelt.
3. To pay no tenths subsides or other taxes.
4. They alone were to engage at festivals in the sports of robin hood and collect money which after paying expenses was to be kept in a box for the use of the sosyitye.
5. That once a year the town corporations were to have public games of shooting in the harquebuses the prizes to be not less than xx^{s} xv^{s} x^{s} or v^{s} and that no mans adventure to be more than vi^{d} and deficit to be made up by the town and all given to the company.

Then follow regulations for discipline, and, further, that in villages the bow was still to be practised, and if there were not sufficient volunteers the magistrates should make choice.

There is also an interesting memorandum of the funds at this time expended by the Ordnance department: 'Soma tota of All the money R^{d} by williā pellā esquier Lieutenāt Generald of her ma^{ties} Ordinanse from the first of January 1566 untill the last october 1570 xxxvi^{ml} iiii^{c} xx$^{£}$ xi^{s} x^{d} ob.' During the earlier portion of this period, Mr. Randolph was Lieutenant-General, but it is very probable that Mr. Pelham had then been doing the work for him.

In the summer of 1578 Pelham accompanied[1] Henry, Lord Cobham, and Secretary Walsingham on a diplomatic mission to the Netherlands, and in the following summer he was sent to Ireland to organise the defence of the Pale against possible inroads by the O'Neils; he was knighted by Sir William Drury, and on the latter's death shortly afterwards was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland. He held this office for about a year and a half, and signalised his rule by the ruthless barbarity of his treatment of the people.

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[1] J. Henneage Jesse, in his book *London and its Celebrities*, tells us that this Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, once the possessor of a princely fortune, and the last descendant of a princely line, closed his life in poverty and filth, rather of hunger than any more natural disease, in a room reached by a ladder, at the house of a poor woman in the Minories, who had formerly been his laundress. Having been sentenced to death, with Lord Grey of Wilton for their participation in the alleged conspiracy of Sir Walter Raleigh, they were led to the scaffold without any apparent prospect of reprieve. Almost at the moment, however, when they were about to lay their heads upon the block, it was intimated to them that their lives had been spared, when such was the effect that was produced on their nervous system that, according to Sir Dudley Carleton, 'they looked strange on one another, like men beheaded and met again in another world.' Lord Grey died in prison; but after a time Lord Cobham obtained his release, to perish in the miserable manner we have mentioned. His wife, Lady Cobham, though living herself in affluence, is said to have refused him the means of procuring a crust of bread and a clean shirt.

In 1581 he was commissioned, with the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Henry Neville, to convey the Queen of Scots from Sheffield to Ashby in Leicestershire.

In 1586 he joined the English forces under the Earl of Leicester, who were assisting the Dutch against the Spaniards in the Low Countries, and it seems not improbable that he brought back the body of Sir Philip Sidney, after his death at Arnheim on Oct. 16, following upon the battle of Zutphen, or at all events that he arranged for its being taken to the Minories, where it lay in state for over three months, while preparations were being made for the funeral in St. Paul's, which took place on February 16.

The bringing home of his body and the funeral are graphically described in an appendage to 'an Elegy[1] by George Whetstones on Syr Phyllyp Sydney his honorable life, his valient death & true vertues &c' entitled

A Commemoration of the generall mone, the honorable and solome funerall made for, and of, the most worthy Gent: Sir Phillip Sydney knighte.

By B. W. Esquire.

When winters bitter blastes the trees began to bare, 'He was wounded about the fawle of the leafe.'
sweete Sydney slayne, down fell our hope and piller of welfare:
He was the rising sunne, that made all England glad;
He was the liffe and lyght of those that any vertues had;
He was the Muses joy, he was Bellonas sheild,
within the towne he was a lambe, a lyon in the feild.
His liffe bewrayde a love, that matched Curtious zeale,
His liffe, noe liffe, contempte of death, to serve the common-weale,
Not gifte nor grace there was, but in his vertues shinde,
His worthe more worthe than Flaunders wealth, now by his loss we fynde. 'His vertues and vallor.'

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[1] *S.P.* Eliz. vol. ccxviii. (45).

'Mone at his departure.'

For when his sacred soule did forthe his bodie fly,
ten thousand shrikes pursude the same unto the starry sky.
The stowtest soldier then, shewdt feminine dismay,
and with their teares did washe his wounde, that brought him to decay.
Some kyst his breathlesse mouthe, where wisdome flowde at will,
Some raysed his heade that lately was the treasure house of skyll:
where truth and couradge lyvde, his noble harte some fealte,
some layde theire handes upon his breaste where all the vertues dwelt,
Some eid his closed eyne, that watcht the poore-man's neede,
and when they did unwrap his thyghe, his wounde did make them bleede.
O honnor dearely bought, they cryde, and monde his chaunce,
so stroke his hande and sayde, farewell, thou glory of the launce.
Outcrwyes soon speade his deathe, the mone rann far and neare,
what was he then that mourned not, the dolefull newes to heare:

'The king of Scots wrote a passionate Epitaph.'

The kynge of Scots bewrayde his greife in learned verse,
And many moe their passions spende, with praise to deck his hearse;

'Greate costs were offered to have his funerall at flushings.'

The flushingers made sute his breathlesse corse to have,
and offered, a sumptuos tombe, the same for to engrave,
But of his lovinge frendes, at theire request did greeve
at was to much, he lost his liffe, his corse they would not leave,

'The ship that broughte his bodie atired and paynted with black.'

And so from flushinge porte, In ship attyrde with blacke
they did embarke, this perfect knighte, that only breathe did lacke
The winds, and seas, did mourne, to see this heavy sighte,
and into Thames did convey this much lamented knighte.
unto the Mynories, his bodie was conveyed,
and there under a martiall hearse, three months or more was stayde

The order of a martiall funerall'

But when the day was come, he to his grave must goe,
An hoste of heavie men repayrde, to see the sollome showe.
The poore whom he, good knighte, did often clothe and feade,
in freashe remembrance of theire woe wente first in mourninge weade.
His frendes and servantes sad, was thought a heavy syghte,
who fixte theire eies upon the grownde, which now must howse theire knighte:
To heare the drome and fyfe sende forthe a dolefull sownde,
to see his coulers, late advaunst, lye traylinge on the grownde:

each ornament of warr thus oute of order borne,
did pearce tenn thousande hartes with greife which were not namd to mone.
Some markt the grate dismay, that charged his martiall bande,
and how some horsemen walkt on foote, with battell axe in hande.
Some towld the mourninge cloakes his gent did weare,
what knightes and captaynes were in gownes and what the heraldes beare.
Some markt his statelie horse, how they honnge downe theire heade,
as if they mourned for theire knighte that followed after deade.
But when his noble corpes in sollome wise past bye,
Farewell the worthiest knighte that lyvde, the multitude did cry:
farewell that honerd art, by lawrell and by launce:
farewell the frende, belovd of all, that hast noe foe but chaunce.
His sollome funerall beseeminge his estate,
thus by the heraldes martialled, the more to mone his fate,
three Earles and other Lordes, the Hollandes States in blacke,
with all theire trayne then followed, and that noe love might lacke,
the Mayor and Alderman in purple robes there mournde:
and last a bande of citizens, with waepons awkward tournde,
in sollome wise did bringe this knighte unto the grownde,
who beinge thus bestowde at rest, theire laste adewe to sounde,
two volley of brave shot, they thundred in the skyes:
and thus his funerall did ende, with many weepinge eies
upon whose monument, in Letters writ with Gowlde,
this Epitaph deserves to be for all men to beholde.

Of the most worthy and hardie knighte, Sir
Phillip Sydney, the Epitaphe.

Heare underneath lyes phillip sydney knighte,
trewe to his prince, learned, stayde and wyse,
who lost his life, in honerable fighte,
who vanquisht deathe, in that he did dispyse
to lyve in pompe; by others brought to pas,
which ofte he tearmd, a diamond set in bras.

In April of the following year we find the Earl of Leicester, the Earl[1] of Warwick, and Sir William all together at Bath taking the waters. Leicester,[1] in a letter to Lord Burleigh, describes the condition of the patients ; he says that Lord Warwick has received great benefit from the bath, but 'for myself I cannot say anything yet of yt but I am worse ye day I goe into the bath than before Sir W^{m} pellam ys very pfectly well by the baths only my broth also ys in better health of his boddy than he was.' Sir William had been severely wounded when fighting under Leicester in the Netherlands, and it was no doubt from the effects of his wound that he was suffering at Bath ; he appeared, however, to have so far recovered that he was sent back in the autumn with reinforcements to Holland, but shortly after landing at Flushing he died, on November 24, 1587.

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[1] Lord Warwick and Sir Philip Sidney had been joint Masters of the Ordnance.

Though engaged on so many other duties, he retained the office of Lieut.-General of Ordnance to the day of his death. From the financial point of view, he had not been a successful administrator ; in 1585 his official balance sheet showed a deficiency of £8,000, while his personal debts amounted to over £5,000. The Queen would not hear of remitting the official shortage, and he was obliged to mortgage his own property, as security for its repayment, before she would allow him to join Leicester in the Netherlands.

The next holder of the office was Sir Robert Constable, who was also a General of distinction ; there are many documents among the State Papers referring to the work of his department, but none calling for special notice.

In November 1591 he died, and was buried 'in the chauncell of the Trinity Minoryes Churche' on the 12th.

Sir Robert Constable was succeeded by Sir George Carew, who, in 1605, was created Baron Carew and in 1608 was promoted to the higher office of Master General of the Ordnance. He was afterwards, in 1626, created Earl of Totnes, and was at one time Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen (of James I).

In 1596 he was serving under Lord Essex in an expedition, consisting of 100 ships and 8,000 land-soldiers, sent to the relief of Calais, at the earnest request of the French King, and he was also present with Essex at the capture of Cadiz. He was engaged for some years in Ireland, and, like his predecessor Sir William Pelham, held the high office of Lord Deputy; during his absence the duties of the Lieutenancy of the Ordnance were executed by a certain Mr. Harvey.[1] Lord Totnes died in 1629, and we find a demand from the Master Gunner of England for a quantity of powder, to be spent in firing Ordnance on the Tower Wharf at his funeral. He is said to have left his widow wonderfully rich. She was a daughter, and one of the co-heiresses, of William Clopton, of Clopton, co. Warwick. She died at Twickenham, and was buried at Stratford-on-Avon.

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[1] *S.P.* (*Dom.*) Eliz. vol. cc. (11), April 6, 1587.

On Lord Carew's promotion to the Master Generalship, his place at the Minories was taken by Sir Roger Dallison, Kt. and Bart. Sir Roger[2] appears to have been a man of very different character from any of his predecessors, who, one and all, had been able and zealous soldiers, and impressed with a deep sense of the responsibility of their office. Dallison's one object seems to have been to enrich himself, while, for all he cared, his department might go to rack and ruin.

By some means[3] or other he obtained from the King, in 1612, a sixty years' lease of a considerable portion of the Crown property in the Minories, and apparently of some of the buildings of the Tower as well. No doubt the King's idea in granting such a lease was much on a par with that of bishops who have, in days gone by, let the estates of their sees on leases on lives, by which they obtained a lump sum down, and their successors, for so many years, lost the rents. The King received ready money, and Sir Roger Dallison, or his executors, were to receive the rents of such portions of the property as were let; but Sir Roger was not content to receive these rents in return for his purchase money. He proceeded to let on lease the official residence, he removed all the workmen out of the workshops, converting the latter into dwelling houses, which he could let in addition to the houses in which these men had lived; he also did the same thing with a portion of the Tower, over which, by his lease or in his official capacity, he had control. He further neglected to make payments for which he had received the money.

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[1] *S.P.* Eliz. and James I.

[2] *S.P.* James I. 86 (26) and 98 (25); also 176 (8) and Charles I. 13 (91), 119 (1).

[3] *Rot. Pat.* 10, James I. part 14, No. 21. In this patent the boundaries and extent of the property leased are fully set forth.

Sometimes, however, he found himself obliged to discharge his official liabilities, as, from an incidental notice of expenses incurred by him in 1610, we learn that he spent £600 'for providing fireworks and shows upon the water at the creation of the Prince [1] as Prince of Wales.'

Notwithstanding his peculation, and the scandalous ruin he was bringing upon his department, he was allowed to continue in office about eight years, when things came to a crisis in 1616; he then petitioned to be allowed to sell his lands, and call in his debts, so as to be able to pay his Majesty, but, with what result we have no information. We only know that another Lieutenant-General was appointed, and he himself died in prison four years later.

Sir Richard Morrison,[2] Kt. and afterwards Bart., filled the vacancy, and, in the grant of office, in addition to the Lieutenancy of the Ordnance and the keeping of the storehouses, the keeping of 'the artillery ground' is added, which had not been included in the earlier grants. In [3] 1612 Sir Richard had been President of Munster and in command of the troops there, having purchased the office from Lord Danvers for £3,000. When he entered upon his duties in the Minories he found he had no easy task before him to get things into anything like shape again. There was considerable difficulty in getting rid of the lessee [4] (Mr. Anthony Lowe) of 'the great stone house, square court, and garden,' who had to be bought out for £220, and the restoration of the other buildings to their proper uses caused infinite trouble. Orders [5] in Council, in the drawing up of which Sir Richard took part, were issued, but, having little results, were re-issued time after time before the various tenants could be evicted.

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[1] Prince Henry, who died in 1613.

[2] *S.P.* James I. 86 (1); also *Grant Book.*

[3] *Ibid.* 69 (39), 72 (13).

[4] *Ibid.* 91 (5).

[5] *Ibid.* 116 (6) (7), 156 (13), 176 (8).

Some very graphic descriptions remain of the ruin that those eight years of maladministration had produced, 'Howses[1] ruinated and puled doune,' also

> a long stone wall being the Mayne forefront & Guard of his Mat^es^ howses and Storehouses in the Minorites which contained armour & habilliments of war and the stones therof were sold to pave the streets the porters lodge is there absolutely puled downe or altered to the nature of a tenement

and the residences of many other officials, clerks, gunmakers, smiths and wheelwrights are stated either to have been pulled down or altered, and the workshops 'all altered into private tenements,' as had been also the gunmaker's house and rooms, which were for the 'making of the King's Musquetts & Calivers &c. for the repairing of them when they came from sea where now after they come from there they are discharged about the city & many times some of them come short home or not at all.' A large building had also been erected by

> a gunnesmyth upon newe foundacons w^{ch} he nowe useth for a shoppe to work in (but may easylie be converted into a house for habitacon) and by reason of that Buyldinge and a cross pale and wall the passage for carriages necessarylie requyred for the office of his Ma^{ts} ordinance is stopped and hindered and the officers of the ordynance do greatly complayne thereof.

Another grievance was, that 'yor Ma^{tie} payeth 8^{l}. a day to a porter keeping of the Gate of the said Storehouse And hee doth not anything for it, but is a hindrance to yor Mat^{es} service that should there be done.'

The gate here mentioned apparently led only to the part of the precinct which was under the governance of the Ordnance Department, and was distinct from the area in which the ordinary inhabitants resided (they had their own gate and their own rules with regard to its use). The porter of the gate leading to the storehouses was a Government official, and held his office by a regular grant for life; on one occasion he is styled in the grant 'gentleman.' Like everything else in Dallison's time, the duties of this office, as just stated, were ill performed, and the following memorandum, which sets forth what those duties were, was evidently drawn up in consequence of the inquiries which were then being made into the conduct of the affairs of the department. It is endorsed:

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 13 (93).

The [1] coppie hereof delived to M^{r} attendent upon my No^{ble} good Lorde the Lorde Carewe. Towchinge the Portershipp of the Minnores.

M^{d} that I Willm̃ Barroway thise firste day of May An^{o} 1616 at the request of a frende and to my p̃sent memory have here sett downe my knowledge conserninge the Portershippe of the Mynnores in time paste.

furste That I did knowe one Anthony Eaton as deputy to one W^{m} Allen dwelle wth^{in} the gate of the then Queens Ma^{s} Mynnores in a house on the lefte hand of entrance into the yarde towards the Smythe and whelewrights wourkhouses or shoppes &c the w^{ch} housse for this xl yeres he hath knowne to be called the porters lodge, at the end whereof next the gate was & yet is 2 windowes the uppermust to answere out at, upon any knocking at the Gate, Early or late, and the undermust for looking to the gate in the day time & setting of a Bason in for his offering at Christmas, of Officers Artificers Marchanttes and others belonging and sarvinge provisions into the storres of thoffice of thordinance & repairing thether for there money for the same a used victualling & lodging of werkman &c.

Secondly that the said Eaton had allowed him out of the ordinarye of thoffice as by books appereth the pay of iiij^{d} a day for ringing of a bell, viz at 6. in the morning and one afternone for calling of carpenters, Whellers, Smythes, Sawyers and labourers &c to come to wourke, & at a XI afforenoone, and at 6 at nighte for leavinge of wourke, w^{ch} after was cutt of by M^{r} Powell upon his Bargayne undertaken of pretended husbandry for defraying the wastes of theffice after a Rate &c.

Thirdly after him thaforesaid Allin came to it himself.

ffourthly after him one Olive had it to whome I W^{m} Barroway have payde muche Monnye for boarding & lodging of whellers &c prestt into wourke in the yere 1599 as by the partyes names for whome I paide the same is reddy to be shewed uppon occasion.

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[1] *S.P.* James I. 87 (1), 1616.

5 after him that one hughe Prize enchoyed the same as Porter by Title; but how the case of late goeth I knowe not well but M^r^ Prize abideth therein still. And hath as I here obtayned a leas not only therof but also of all other houses between the 2 first gates from the street w^th^ certen shoppes workhouses wherein whellers Smithes and hand gun makers used to worke for her late Ma^te^ and his high . . .

The pulling down of the porter's lodge, mentioned above, must have taken place shortly after the drawing up of this memorandum.

In one way, but in one only, Sir R. Morrison followed in his immediate predecessor's steps, by letting, but not on a lease, his official residence. For this information we are indebted to a Mr. John Chamberlain, who in a letter November 15, 1623, to Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador in Holland, wrote:—

the[1] earle of Northumberland lies in towne having hired Sir Richard Morisons house in the minorites by the tower his coach is drawn w^th^ eight horses, to surpasse his sonne carlisle, and the[2] Spanish ambassador w^th^ his sixe carion mules.

Probably Morrison, who in that year was created a baronet, was then in failing health, which would account for his giving up his work. The[3] next year we find him spoken of as growing weak, 'both in mind and body,' and he is not mentioned at all after July 1625.

A patent[4] had been granted on May 25, 1621, 'for constituting Sir Wm. Harringhton Knight to be Lieutenant-Generall of all the ordinance and munitions and other Warlicke Instruments during life in reversion,' and[5] he entered upon his duties in 1625, when Sir R. Morrison, no doubt, had died, but he had only been in possession of the coveted office for about a year when he also died.

A grant[6] in 1625 gives an interesting note of the way endeavours were made by the Government, from time to time, for the encouragement of particular trades. It was made to 'John Bounal of the King's interest in the leases of two gardens and a shed near the Minories, on condition of his building and maintaining a house for keeping and breeding silkworms for his majesty.'

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[1] *S.P.* James I. 154 (28).

[2] There was a house called the Spanish Ambassador's house in Petticoat Lane (Seymour).

[3] *S.P.* James I. 173 (82).

[4] *Grant Book*, James I.

[5] *S.P.* Charles I. 9 (55).

[6] *Ibid.* James I. 185 (49).

Sir William Harrington was succeeded by Sir William Heydon, who had a similarly short tenure of the office, losing his life,[1] with other officers, at the landing of troops under the Duke of Buckingham at the Isle of Rhé.

Sir William was the eldest son of Sir Christopher Heydon, who belonged to an old Norfolk family, which had resided in that county for 400 years. He had previously been engaged in several foreign expeditions[2]; he was commissioned in 1622, with a certain Charles Glunham, to make a voyage with ships to the territories of the great Mogul, and other princes, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Le Mairi, to satisfy the Mogul with 'some choice arts and rarities' and to put their arts and inventions in use in those climates. In 1624 he was appointed Treasurer of the Companies to be sent to the Low Countries, as he was formerly of those sent to the Palatinate.

The following account of Sir William Haydon's death is taken from a journal of the expedition, from June 27 to July 20, 1627:—

> On[3] Thursday ye 12th of July it was determined that ye soldyers should be landed, wch was done about 3 of ye clock in ye afternoon, the English soldiers striving wch should be first, were most valiently opposed by 200: french horse & 1200 foot: were having landed about 200 of the ffrench horse gave them such a desperate charge that ye like was never seen by any for although our shipps did ply their Ordiñce most bravely yet they marching in good order gave our landmen such a charge (had they beene seconded home wth their foot) that it had been doubtful who should have had the honor of that day: but that the omnipotent power that was a beholder and determiner of ye quarrell gave it to our nation, albeit it did seem att first to be lost, who flying from their Commanders & casting away their Cullors & Arms, ran most fearfully

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 33 (53), 70 (60) (81).

[2] *Ibid.* James I. 132 (103) and 168 (33).

[3] *Ibid.* Charles I. 71 (60).

into the sea, & did so oucharge ye boats that were laden wth soldyers that many were drowned, amongst which was that noble kn^{t} S^{r} W^{m} Heydon was landed and at last 2 pikes length from the water carryed by ye violence of the running rout into ye sea, to ye great grief of ye Noble Duke, having bene att ye first on shoore & taking his barge again . . . he with great bravery encouraged his men to a fresh attack & the enemy were defeated.

In 1626 the famous engineer, Cornelius Dribble, together with one Arnold Rotsipen, took up his residence in the Minories, under the auspices of the following warrant from the King:—

Charles R.[1]

Whereas we expect that Cornelius Dribble and Arnold Rotsipen our servants should apply their best skill and diligence to our service from tyme to tyme as the same shalbe required at their hands. And that our beloved servant Sir William Heydon knight for the better advancement thereof is ready to allott unto them convenient roome w^{thin} our house of Minorites in his custody that they may be there at hand and fitted upon all occasions for the services aforeseid.

Our will and pleasure is that . . . such lodgings be prepared . . . and also such part of our Storehouses for the safe and private keeping of all such Artifices Engines Munitions and habiliments as from tyme to tyme shalbe by them contrived and performed . . .

The warrant was sent to the Earl of Totnes, the Master-General of the Ordnance, by whom it was forwarded to Sir William Heydon. The next year the King issued a warrant to Sir William Heydon,[2] to pay Dribble and Rotsipen '£100 as a reward for forging divers water engines.' Three years later Dribble was engaged, with a certain Abraham Kiffler, in the manufacture of 'three extraordinary ffierships according to the directions of Colonell Peblis & likewise sixe Engines for ffierworks . . . for the service for the relief of Rochelle.' Shortly afterwards they complained that[3] they had never been able to obtain debentures out of the office of Ordnance. Dribble was, in the same year, employed as 'engineer[4] for draining the level within cos. Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge,

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 31 (14).

[2] *Ibid.* 66 (25).

[3] *Ibid.* 162 (78) and 163 (16).

[4] *Ibid.* 158 (34).

Isle of Ely, Huntingdon, Northampton & Lincoln.' Three years later he died, and was buried in the Minories on October 16, 1633. His name is inscribed in the burial register in capital letters of abnormal dimensions. He was born in 1572, in Holland, and was a great mathematician and inventor, and, like many another, tried his hand at making a machine that would produce perpetual motion; he also either invented or introduced into England the microscope, telescope, and thermometer; he is also said to have invented a submarine boat, and an incubator for hatching chickens.

Sir William Heydon's place at the Minories was filled by his brother, Captain John Heydon, who was knighted shortly after his appointment. He was a sailor as well as a soldier, for in a letter[1] dated October 28, 1627, he gives an account of his expedition to the Texel, and of his failure to capture the French king's ships, in consequence of his having been forestalled by Sir Sackville Trevor; the latter, by capturing one ship, had put the French on the alert, so that Heydon with his small 'equippment' could do nothing; he waited for some time, hoping for a favourable opportunity to do something, but the Dutch interfered, and made any further attempts impossible.

Heydon was a man of strong will, who liked to settle everything for himself, and have his own way, and this, in the parish as well as in his own department. He is the only Lieutenant-General who ever appears to have interested himself in parochial matters; his is the only name, of all the holders of his office, which appears in the vestry minutes, and, when he condescended to be present at a meeting, he signed his name first before the Incumbent. It is not improbable that, under his influence, some very extensive structural alterations was made in the parish, as the still existing names of Haydon Square and Haydon Street testify. We also find that, in 1639, he was directly appealed to as the *de facto* patron of the living, though the patronage really belonged to the parishioners at large. That he was more or less in continuous residence is evidenced by the fact that between September 1629 and August 1640 no less than eight children of his were baptised in the church. (In the registers the name is sometimes written Haydon and sometimes Heydon—the 'e' was apparently the original spelling, but the 'a' has descended to modern times.)

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 83 (20).

From the time of his entering upon his official duties he was determined not to undertake anything which was not closely connected with the work of his department. In June 1628 he had been asked to undertake some expedition, but he at once declined, on the ground that in consequence of his brother's death the family affairs, as well as those of his office, needed all his attention. In[1] a long letter to the Duke of Buckingham he assigns his reasons 'why he is unfit to be about till he hath settled his estate.' He says:

> Since the losse of him that was the head & hope of his house the care of preserving the reputation & subsistance of my family hath inevitably and wholy bene throwne upon my shoulders as next heire to the estate that remayneth. Till w^ch unhappy accident I was not only a free man but ambitious of embracing all occasions that might give mee an interest in any noble or remarkable action.
>
> What the incumbrances are now wherewith I am entangled I have held it my part to expresse unto yo^r Grace by the following relation (not as regarding my own particular whose person shall at all tymes remayne a most thankefull & devoted sacrifice to the advancement of his Ma^ties service and my best endeavours ready to render yo^r Grace assurance of my desire to obey yo^r commandes) but as a duty I owe & am bound to render to the remnant of my name & contynuance of my declyning family humbly leavinge the disposall of the one to his Ma^tes pleasure, & the due consideration of the other to yo^r Graces wisdome & equity.
>
> The Relation
>
> ffirst that since the honor of his Ma^tes service was vouchsaffed mee I have so wholly intended the duties of my place & drawing up my brother's accompt as hitherto I have not regarded my private estate so much as once to take possession or acknowledgment of my tennants.
>
> That being executor to my brother as yet I have not had the tyme to bring in or perfect the Inuentory of his personall estate for the performance whereof I have taken my oath in the Purgative Court.

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 109 (1).

That at this instant I have no less than fower severall suites depending in the Chancery Excheq^r^ Court of Wards & Duchy Court: besydes two controversies one with the Dean & Chapter of Norwich, the other[1] w^th^ Cajus Colledge in Cambridge distractions wherew^th^ formerly I was never troubled or once acquainted.

That in regard the Accompts of 3 Lieutenants do still remayne some partly some wholly unaudited besydes my brothers w^ch^ amounting to somme 66000£ cannot procede notwithstanding my earnest endeavours in that behalf (well knowne to the Lo: Trer) till the rest are brought in & concluded.

That the Accompts of the office & preceeding officers are so perplexed & intermixed as wthout a stricter examination then hath bene formerly used neither the Accompts for his Ma^tie^ nor of the parties interested can be truly stated.

That hitherto no course hath bene setled for the recovery of such debts as are due to my brother, or from him.

That having bene long contested & still opposed in the right of my brothers accompts by such as have many years managed the receipts and disbursements of former officers I am admonished to endeavour from their examples & the eschewing of that ruyne that bafell S^r^ Roger Dallyson whose person perished in prison & estate was seized to the kings use & Sir Richard Morison who succeeded him for want of perfecting his accompt was after his death condemned in 2700£ though well neare 400 sheets thereof be yet unaudited.

That some of the greatest marks of his Ma^ties^ favour to my brother in consideration of his long service since gratiously confirmed to me, will remayne of as small advantage to my selfe or posterity as they were to him if I may not have convenient tyme to settle them.

All which is most humbly referred to yo^r^ Graces consideration.

Subsequently[2] the claim made by the Crown against the estate of Sir William Heydon amounted to £8,000, and so convinced was Sir John that this far exceeded what was really owing that he made strict inquiries under the belief that he would be able to prove that his brother had been robbed, both by his servants and by other of the officers of the Ordnance. Failing to bring anything home to them on this score, he, partly perhaps out of pique and partly because he was dissatisfied with the general business of the department, brought other charges against them, which they asserted to be unjust, and he also promugated new rules for the conduct of the office, intended to correct abuses, while at the same time they would greatly increase his own authority. This was bitterly resented by the other officers, and the controversy raged long and fiercely. The officers, consisting of the Surveyor, Clerk of the Ordnance, Keeper of the Stores, and Clerk of the Deliveries, refused to accept the new rules, and appealed to the King. The[1] petition that they forwarded is interesting in that it sets out the constitution of the Office at that time, and the way its business was conducted. It contains the following statements which applied to the stores &c. in the Tower as well as in the Minories, and to the officials in both places:—

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[1] A letter written by him (*S.P.* Charles I. 182 [23]) in 1639 to the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College explains the probable subject of controversy. He says that he 'has exercised his right of presentation in favour of John Cartilin, educated in the free school of Holt, co. Norfolk, to one of the two scholarships in their college,' to which he claimed the right of presentation, through his great grandfather, Sir Christopher Heydon, and he desired that the same might be ratified and confirmed.

[2] *S.P.* Charles I. 206 (26).

> That the business, and subject of this Office, doth consist principally in the Providing Receaving, Keeping, & Delivering of all Ordnance Powder, Shott, Matches, and other Munition, & habilments of Warr, entered into divers journall & Leiger books, in such manner that accompts may be taken of yo^r^ Ma^ties^ monyes and provisions, from tyme to tyme when and as often as the same hath beene or shalbe required.
>
> And for these ends there hath been A M^r^ of thordnance who for the most part was a great noble man & privy Councillor. A Lieutenant, A Surveyor A Clerk of thordnance A keeper of the Stores & A Clerk of ye Deliveries. And that the Lieu^t^ & the others under the government of the said M^r^ have managed the affairs & business of the Office.
>
> All transactions were to have the cognizance of all these officers in Common, all disputes being referred to the M^r^.
>
> they were to meet twice a week to decide all questions, they were to agree what provisions in store and what quantity were to be provided.
>
> the Master but generally the Lieu^t^ but sometimes one of the

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 179 (51, 52).

other officers received the payment monthly for paying all wages &c which was never to exceed £6000 a year.

that nothing was to be taken out of the Stores but by Common consent and under warrant of the King & six Lords of Council or Lo: Admiral first directed to the M^r^ & fr. him to the L^t^ and the rest of the officers.

Stores returned were to be viewed and if repairable were to be delivered to artificers giving security for them to be repaired and brought back.

They then state 'that these rules had not been arbitrally made by the officers,' who were quite willing to accept any further orders and directions that the King might make, but they would have nothing to do with the forms and rules of the new Lieutenant.

In reply[1] to this, Sir John Heydon presented two petitions to the King, in which he set forth his own past services and the King's favour towards him, as giving him a claim to consideration and trust in the matter. He said that since his appointment to the office his only aim had been to further the King's interests, and he had done the utmost in his power to reform the 'inveterate and manifold abuses of the office' and bring things into a better working order ; he pressed for an impartial inquiry by the Lords Commissioners, and declared that the aspersions and slanders directed against himself by the other officers were intended to cover their own delinquencies. The King accordingly appointed a Commission of inquiry, and two reports were drawn up for presentation, one[2] by Sir John Heydon, and another[3] by the Lord Treasurer. In these it is stated that 'the antient Constitutions of the office had long since been suppressed and made away, for many years the government had been merely arbitrary at the pleasure of certaine officers that perverted the whole fraime thereof,' and, further, that the accounts were improperly kept and every kind of fraud and peculation was rampant, by which officials of all degrees enriched themselves, and robbed the King to the extent of 'fifties if not hundreds of thousands' ; the more influential and powerful among them cheating the poorer ones, who were unable to obtain what was justly due to them. Among items of wasteful expenditure is mentioned, 'The profuse expense of powder wasted in salutations &c.'

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 179 (53, 56). [2] *Ibid.* 179 (57). [3] *Ibid.* 179 (59).

On one occasion the King commanded [1] 'that the Officers & the Lt of the Ordnance should meet and agree upon some course for regulating the King's service,' but they found it utterly impossible to compose their differences, and the friction continued unabated, with naturally the most disastrous consequences to the welfare of the State. Even cannon were to a large extent allowed to pass into private hands. In 1633 Sir John Heydon, who never wearied in his efforts to put things to rights, made an expedition on his own account to the North,

> and [2] not only discovered divers pieces of brass ordnance that had been embezzled from his Majesty, but out of his own purse caused 18 pieces to be transported from dives castles to the Tower, where 23 pieces more by him likewise discovered are daily expected in a ship from Berwick.

But all his efforts were unavailing, things went from bad to worse, and when, in August 1628, the Master-General of the Ordnance made inquiries of Sir John Heydon

> with [3] regard to ordnance stores for equipping a force of 16000 foot, Sir John is obliged to admit the inability of the officers of ordnance to execute many of these requirements, the surveyor being sick, the clerk restrained of his liberty, and one of his clerks absent, the master gunner dead, the yeoman of the ordnance never present, nor any of the gunners attendant, and the stores for ordnance empty.

But it was not only his utter inability to fulfil the requirements of his office that Sir John deplored, he also found his own remuneration quite inadequate to maintain his position; therefore, on April 20, 1637, he forwarded the following petition [4] to the King:—

> Sheweth That after the experience of almost ten years active & passive industries wholly employed for ye advancement of yor

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 241 (63).

[2] *Ibid.* 252 (66).

[3] *Ibid.* 397 (37).

[4] *Ibid.* 354 (38).

Mat^es^ service and proffit, (In regard to ye unsettled condition & payment of ye office of ye Majesties Ordnance together with the deprivation of those perquisities that antiently were the chiefest subsistence of ye Lieutenants office) finding the charge of executing the office much exceeding the remaining perquisites. He therefore prays that he may be freed from his former insupportable sufferings.

That for a competent & due support of ye inevitable expenses incident to the double duties of his place, (as Lieutenant & Tre^er^ of the Off. of Ord.) hee may bee allowed the poundage of all monies raised to yo^r^ Majesties use by the sale of powder.

He had also to meet many outgoings for which he had never received anything in return.

He further mentions that he had served ten years abroad at his own charge.

This petition was referred to the Lord Treasurer Comptroller and Secretary, and it is probable that it was in reply to this that, a year later, Mountjoy, Earl of Newport, wrote to Heydon saying: 'I believe[1] Mr. Secretary will let you know the King has taken notice of your care in his service, in which I have not failed to perform the office of one that is your friend.'

Two months[2] after receiving this letter, June 22, 1639, Heydon was summoned to attend the King in the expedition to the North, but was afterwards ordered to remain at the Ordnance Office, as the Master thereof was absent. The next year he was again petitioning to be allowed the 6*d.* in the £ commission to which, by his patent, he was entitled.

During the next three years Heydon did his utmost to provide his sovereign (Charles I.) with the munitions of war, to equip him for the coming struggle with Parliament, and was in constant receipt of orders to send stores of all kinds to the North, and to Portsmouth. In June 1642 he received the following significant warrant from the King, then holding his Court at York:—

We[3] having present occasion for the use of ordnance and munition for defence of our person, we require you to send by sea hither or to Newcastle, inasmuch as it will not be safe to do so by land, such cannon, arms, powder, shot and munition you can get out of our stores ships or otherwise, in such secret and close manner that the same may not be interupted by those who wish not well to our safety and person.

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 420 (108). [2] *Ibid.* 424 (52). [3] *Ibid.* June 1642.

Shortly after this Heydon left his home in the Minories (to which he was destined never to return) to join the King's standard in the North, where he took up the post of Lieutenant-General of Artillery, and subsequently joined the King's Privy Council.

Heydon suffered much for the King's cause, all his goods were confiscated, a very considerable amount of the salary of his office he never received, and one third of the Roche and Selwood Forests, which he had purchased from the King for over £16,000, was taken from him, and was not recovered by his family for many years. He died on October 16, 1653.

In addition to Sir John Heydon's ability as an administrator and as a General in the field, he also possessed considerable capacity as a scientist, and as an expert on implements of war. He[1] was jointly interested with his brother-in-law, Sir William Gardyner, in certain chemical experiments, and his opinion was sought on the merits of inventions. On one occasion he reports on a Dutchman's [2] proposal to make cannon of wrought iron, instead of cast iron, whereby shorter guns and less powder would suffice. Sir John thought the statement plausible, but contrary to daily experience. At [3] another time a certain Gerard Dalbby submits for his opinion 'an engine to be fired under water.'

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[1] *S. P.* Charles I. 374 (20) (55) [2] *Ibid.* 312 (93). [3] *Ibid.* 282 (107).

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE INTERREGNUM TO THE PRESENT TIME, A.D. 1649–1907

The Parliament takes possession of the Minories—Lieutenant-Generals of the Ordnance: Sir Walter Erle, M.P., Major-General Harrison, Mr. Richard Hutchinson—Establishment of a great Workhouse—The Restoration—Colonel William Legge appointed Lieutenant-General—Reform of the Ordnance Office—Mr. David Walter succeeds Colonel William Legge—Reversion granted to Captain George Legge—Grant of the Minories to Sir Thomas Chicheley, Master-General of the Ordnance—Sale by Sir Thomas to Sir William Pritchard—Termination of the connection with the Ordnance Department—Notices by contemporary historians of the outward aspect of the Minories—The precinct gates—The fire of 1797—The gradual displacement of inhabited houses by warehouses and railways—Reunion of the Parish with St. Botolph's Aldgate—Dismantling of the church

It cannot have been very long after Sir John Heydon's departure for the North that the Parliamentarians took possession of the Minories, the Tower, and such stores as remained. When this had been done they appointed Sir Walter Erle, M.P., to be Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. He, however, only held the office for about a couple of years, when he was succeeded by Colonel, afterwards Major-General Harrison, the regicide.[1] He is supposed to have been of humble origin, and in early life was articled to an attorney in Clifford's Inn. In 1642 he enlisted in Essex's Life Guards, and at Marston Moor he fought in Fleetwood's regiment of horse. His military reputation stood high, but as regards personal character he is said to have been more ready in setting forth the principles of Free Grace than in following the principles of religion. He was vehemently antagonistic to the King, and strongly urged his being brought to trial. Under special instructions from Cromwell and Ireton, he escorted the King from Hurst Castle to London. He sat on the Council of State, was a member of the High Court of Justice, was present at nearly all the meetings of the Court, and signed the death warrant. To the last he always justified his action, and was convinced that it met with divine approbation. In consequence of disagreements with the Government established under Cromwell, he was, in 1625, deprived of his commission. Two years later he was arrested, and sent as a prisoner to Carisbrook Castle, on suspicion of being concerned in Anabaptist disaffection; he was released the next year, but was again arrested for a time in 1657. On the approach of the Restoration he refused to seek safety in flight, and, being condemned to death, was executed at Charing Cross on October 13, 1660.

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[1] *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*

He had held the office of Lieutenant and Treasurer of Ordnance till 1651, when he was succeeded by Mr. Richard Hutchinson, who was styled Admiralty and Naval Treasurer, but we have no information as to the length of his tenure of the office; there is, however, no record of the appointment of a successor during the remainder of the Interregnum.

At the time of Mr. Hutchinson's appointment, the office of Master-General of the Ordnance had been placed in commission, and a return was asked for by the Committee from the officers of Ordnance as to the profits of the Lieutenant-General.

They reported as follows:—

> His[1] ffee by Pattent one hundred Markes p Ann : wth ye house in ye Mynorittes and all Orchardes Gardens &c. thereto belonging worth by est. £140 p Ann. His wages upon ye Quarter books £72 p Ann.
>
> And to his Two Clarkes £80 p Ann. and sometimes £20 p Ann. a p^{ce} more for their extraordinaries for Landservice. His allowance for wood and paper £20 p Ann.
>
> Hee had also vi^{d} per pound out of all monyes paid by him to Artificers &c w^{ch} in tymes of Accon came to per estim^{ce} £1500 p Ann.
>
> But as for what ye psent Lieutennt of ye Ordnance receives of ye said Allowances wee knowe not and therefore humbly referre yo^{r} hono^{rs} to his paymaster to certify you thereof.

This certificate is interesting, not only for the information it contains, but also as showing that the official administration of the Government was carried on during the Commonwealth very much as it had been in times past. This is further confirmed by an order of the Ordnance Committee in 1651, to the [1] 'Ordnance Officers to enquire what old wagons or carriages for the train are in the Minories, and certify their condition, and estimate the cost of repair and fitting them up.'

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[1] *S.P.* Interregnum 15 (81), May 27, 1651.

A portion of the Crown property in the Minories was nevertheless, about this time, much to the annoyance of the Ordnance Officers, utilised for a very different purpose, being converted into

> a great Workhouse,[2] belonging to a Corporation, being a Corporation for the poor of the City of London, & Liberties thereof; which the said President and Governours intended to improve by building for the Encrease of the Revenue, to be employed for the Education of poor children, and employing and relieving the poor belonging to the said Corporation: For the allowing of which there was a proviso in the Act made Anno 1656, against multiplying Buildings in and about the Subburbs.

The property [3] in question was granted to the Corporation for the poor in 1653, three years before the Act alluded to by Maitland. One room, however, in a house granted to them in the Minories, the Officers of the Ordnance positively refused to hand over; [4] whereupon the Corporation appealed to the Council, who issued a peremptory order that the room should be delivered up at once, or else cause shown to the Council within six days.

In 1658 [5] there was another quarrel, and another petition for redress, but we do not know the results.

There seems no doubt that, as soon as he could possibly do so after the Restoration, Charles II. cleared out this pauper settlement, though not without some difficulty. In this he received the greatest assistance from Colonel William Legg, whom he at once [6] appointed Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, with the custody of the official residence and all that, in former days, belonged to it.

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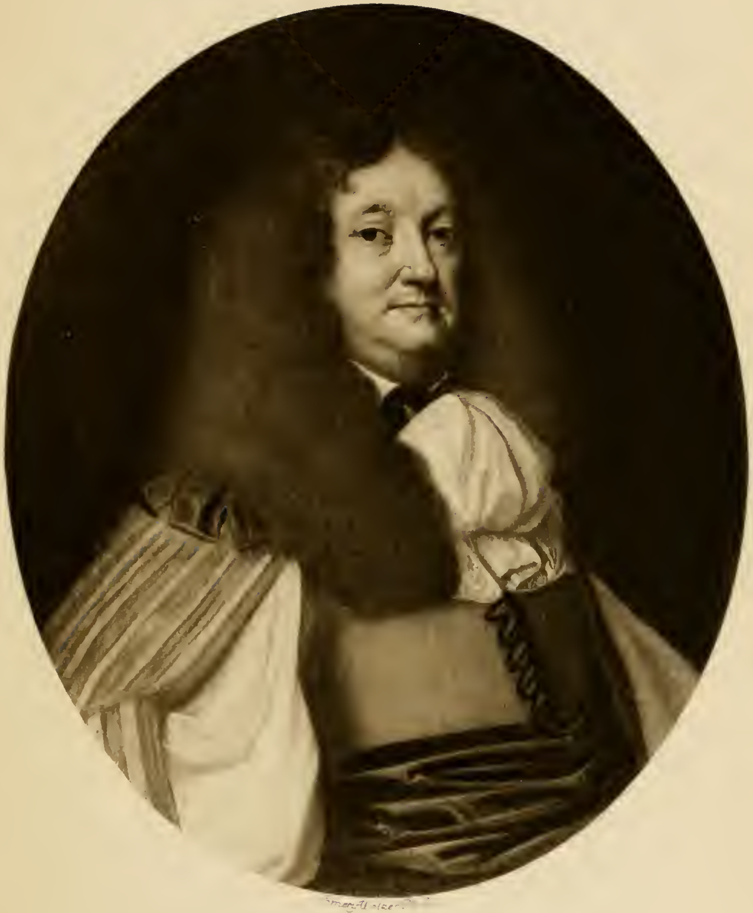
[1] *S.P.* Interregnum, 15 (39).

[2] Maitland's *London* (1756), vol. ii. p. 1023. [3] *S.P.* Interregnum, 40 (64).

[4] *S.P. Dom.* Inter. *Council of State Order Book* I. 70, p. 366 (32).

[5] *S.P.* Interregnum, 180 (7). [6] *S.P.* Charles II. 5 (73).



Emery Walker

Colonel William Legge
from a portrait by Huysman
in the possession of the Earl of Dartmouth

[illegible]

William Legge (or Legg) was the eldest son of Edward Legge, sometime Vice-President of Munster, by Mary, daughter of Percy Walsh, of Moyvally, co. Kildare. He was born about the year 1609. Very early in his career he was attached to the Ordnance Department, then under Sir J. Heydon's rule. In 1638, when he held the rank of Captain in the army, he was appointed[1] 'Master of the Armoury,'[2] and in the same year he was sent to Hull and Newcastle, to report on the strength of those towns, and to find places for magazines, then to Holy Island,[3] whence he was to bring away unserviceable Ordnance; he also reported on the nature and situation of the place, its importance, and the necessity of repairs. At the end of the next year he was busy at the office in London,[4] 'expediting the manufacture of arms for the troops.' The following year he was appointed 'storekeeper[5] at Hull with two clerks, an armourer, and a gunsmith to aid him,' and, in conjunction with Sir Jacob Ashley, he was ordered[6] 'to cause a small portable tent to be made, that the Lords may see how fit it may be for the use of the army if need require.'

In 1641[7] he was entrusted by the King with a petition in connection with what was called the second army plot, for the purpose of bringing up the army to London against the Parliament. He was to endeavour to obtain signatures to this petition in the army.

In January 1642 he was again sent to Hull to obtain the submission of the citizens to their new Governor, the Earl of Newcastle, the King intending to make Hull a new starting-point for waging war upon his rebellious subjects, but the attempt failed.

On August 23[8] of the same year, he was taken prisoner in a skirmish with the Parliamentary forces at Southam, Warwickshire, and was committed by the House of Commons to the Gatehouse, but made his escape a few weeks afterwards and rejoined the King at Oxford. For the next few years he served under Prince Rupert, and greatly distinguished himself on several occasions. In 1644 Rupert appointed him governor of Chester, styling him 'my serjeant major and general of my ordnance,' and the next year he was appointed governor of Oxford, and was joined in a commission for the defence of Oxfordshire, Berks, and Bucks. At the same time he was made a groom of the King's bedchamber. When Rupert fell into disgrace with the King, Legge was deprived of his command, in consequence of his attachment to the Prince, and, for a short time, was placed under arrest, but, as a trusted friend of the King, he did much to bring about a reconciliation between Charles and Rupert.

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 398 (92).

[2] *Ibid.* 397 (24).

[3] *Ibid.* 399 (6), 400 (104).

[4] *Ibid.* 409.

[5] *Ibid.* 493 (25).

[6] *Ibid.* 491 (51).

[7] Gardiner's *Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.* vol. ii. pp. 211, 409.

[8] *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*

After the fall of Oxford, Legge went abroad, but returned to England about July 1647, to wait on the King, then in the custody of the army. He assisted in his escape from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight. In May 1648 Legge was arrested for endeavouring to contrive the King's escape, and was confined at Arundel, but was released a year later on a promise not again to bear arms against the Parliament.

He was then despatched by Charles II. on a mission to Ireland, but was captured at sea in July, and imprisoned in Exeter Castle, on a charge of high treason.[1] There he remained for the next three years, when, in consequence of the overcrowding of the prison, necessitated by the provision of accommodation made for Colonel Legge and a Colonel Slingsby, together with their respective families, they were removed elsewhere. In March 1653 he was granted a pass to go abroad, on giving security to do nothing prejudicial to the State,[2] but, two months later, the Government was aware that he had landed at Rye, and orders were given that a close watch should be kept against seditious meetings; it does not, however, appear that anything was done, or that he, in any way, came into collision with the authorities. In July 1659 he was once more arrested and imprisoned in the Tower, but was discharged on parole in September following.

We have already stated that Charles II. lost no time in rewarding the faithful services of Colonel William Legge to his father and to himself, by appointing him Lieutenant-

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[1] *S.P.* Interregnum, 1651. [2] *Ibid.* 1653.

General of the Ordnance; he also regranted him the offices he had held under Charles I. of Master of the Armoury, and Groom of the Bedchamber. On his monument it is recorded that 'he was restored to his place of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance,' but this is a somewhat misleading statement, for although he appears to have held such an office in Charles I.'s army in the field, Sir William Heydon retained that appointment until the Minories and the Tower were taken possession of by Parliament, and Sir William Erle was then nominated as his successor. The grant of Charles II. to that office cannot therefore correctly be described as a restoration to a place he had previously occupied. Legge also held with the Lieutenancy, as his predecessors had done, the office of Treasurer of the Ordnance, worth £2,000,[1] and the King further granted him a pension of £500, as well as the fee [2] farm rent of the value of £32 2*s.* 1*d.* of the Manors of East and West Wordleham, co. Hants,[3] and the office of Lieutenant of 'the forest of Alice-holt and Woolmer with the whole produce and benefit of all tops, lops, &c., of timber trees felled in the said forests for the use of the navy.' [4] With regard to the latter appointment, he was particularly charged to preserve the game in the said forests, then much destroyed, for which purpose twenty-five brace of fallow deer, with their fawns, were moved there from the New Forest.

Abundant evidence has been produced of the frequent failures of the Ordnance Department to meet the calls that, from time to time, were made upon it during the reign of Charles I. How matters fared during the Commonwealth we have no indications, except for the fact that the Officers of the Ordnance were much hampered by the appropriation of some of their buildings for a pauper establishment.

But Charles II. and his advisers were not long in coming to the conclusion that, if the office was duly to fulfil the purposes for which it existed, some drastic reforms must be instituted in a system which had become stereotyped, and which the most violent changes in the Government had left practically unaltered.

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[1] *S.P.* Charles II. 44 (66).

[2] *Ibid.* 56 (62).

[3] *Ibid.* 125 (62).

[4] *Ibid.* 112 (137).

To this end some very laudable attempts were made in 1665, special efforts being directed against the claims for commissions, demanded on all occasions by officials of every grade. Various orders for the regulation of the Office were issued, and among these it is laid down that

> His Ma^{te}[1] pleasure further is, That noe Debenturidge Presentes Gratuitys or other rewardes whatsoever shall be given to or rec^{d} by any Officer or Clarke for or by reason of any Bills Debenture or payment of money thereupon other than the usual fee of 6^{d} in the £ to the present Lieutenant of the Ord. And that every person soe offending bee dismissed from his employment in the said office.

To make up for their losses on this account, the salaries of all officers and clerks were to be proportionately increased.

It was further ordered that, on the next vacancy, the two offices of Lieutenant of the Ordnance and Master of the Armoury, both of which were held by Colonel Legge, were to be permanently united, while the office of Treasurer, or paymaster, was in future to be held separately. Two years later the question of allowing the sixpence in the pound commission to the Lieutenant was reconsidered, and the King[2]

> declared gunpowder materials should not be subject to poundage, yet because of the pain and hazard of the L^{t} agrees to allow him 10^{s} in the £100 for such payments, and £1000 in lieu of poundage in time past. A warrant to be prepared to pay £500 at once, and £500 on Lady day next.

In a letter to Lord Arlington[3] (Secretary of State) Colonel Legge expresses himself as highly dissatisfied with this arrangement. He asserts that he

> ought to have the full 6^{d} in the £ for all saltpetre brought into the Stores till made into powder, but 100 years ago in Sir William Pelham's time it was so brought in and no doubt he had his poundage, as appears by debentures still in the office. It was alleged that he had made so much by the poundage on moneys received into the office, which was considerable, but nothing like what was supposed, and as I have to keep 4 clerks on my own

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[1] *S.P.* Charles II. 112 (88).

[2] *Ibid.* 189 (33).

[3] *Ibid.* 189 (34), January 23, 1667.

account in addition to the 2 allowed by the King I do not on the average clear more than £2000 a year. Howbeit, great endeavours have been used (in Favour of the Subject questionless) to draw this charge also upon the King, under pretence of thereby Saving him money: which (if his Ma^{ty} can believe) I shall very readily submitt myselfe and Lay downe all at his Royall Feete, not doubting but that His Ma^{ty} will vochsafe (and not think me altogether unworthy of) such a Compensa$\overline{\text{con}}$, as may be suitable to (and as certain as) what I shall part with: This being the only reward my selfe & Family, have to Depend on, after Forty yeares Service and Sufferings for the Crowne.

We can fully sympathise with Colonel Legge in his consciousness of the ingratitude of the master he had served so well, in attempting to deprive a faithful servant in his old age of some of the perquisites which, for a century at least, had been recognised as legally pertaining to his office, but how far his remonstrance had any effect we do not know. It can hardly be said that Charles's zeal for reformation and economy justified his treatment of Colonel Legge in this respect.

There was yet another source from which Colonel Legge sought to supplement his income. It will be remembered that when Sir Roger Dallison was Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance he obtained a sixty years' lease of a portion of the property of the Ordnance Department, which was situated partly within and partly without the parish of the Minories, at a rent of £10 a year, payable to the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance for the time being. This lease would fall in, in 1672, and Colonel Legge[1] petitioned in 1663 to have the reversion of this lease granted to him for another sixty years.

On December 16 he lodged a further petition for the reversion for fifty years, to such persons as he should nominate, of certain houses formerly belonging to the Master of the Armoury, reserving the rent to the said Master. These petitions were still under consideration at the time of Colonel Legge's death. It is stated on his monument that he died on October 13, 1672, in the eighty-third year of his age, but, as a matter of fact, he died in 1670, and it is probable, therefore, that his real age was eighty. He was buried in the North Chancel vault on October 20, 1670,[1] and was followed to the grave by Prince Rupert, the Dukes of Buckingham, Richmond, Monmouth, Newcastle, and Ormond, and many others of the principal nobility.

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[1] R.O. Charles II. *Entry Book* 13, p. 257, October 5, Whitehall. Also *Cal. S.P.* same date.

This vault, in which so many of his descendants lie, was apparently appropriated if not constructed by himself with the intention that it should be a family burying-place.

On the day before his funeral, October 19, his successor was appointed in the person of David Walter, Esq., Groom of the Bedchamber, but, in accordance with the order previously issued for the better organisation of the office, the treasuryship of the Ordnance was not assigned to him.

On November 14, 1670, Colonel Legge's eldest son, Captain George Legge, afterwards the first Lord Dartmouth, presented a petition to the King in reference to the property of which his father had desired to have a lease, and therein reminds him of the report[2] already made on his father's petition, but not yet acted upon, by Sir Charles Harbord, Surveyor-General to the Lord Treasurer. From this report it appears that the houses and ground were situated in or near the Minories, that their yearly value was £276, besides a piece worth £8, and that Sir Charles Harbord had advised that a lease in reversion of twenty-six years should be granted at the rent of £70, being one-fourth of the value, the present rent being £60. It is also stated in the report 'that what Col. Legg petitions for he recovered at great charge from such as possessed them on pretence of the City's right.' From this it may be inferred that this property formed, at all events, a portion of that which had been utilised for the pauper establishment of the City during the Commonwealth. No allusion is made to Colonel Legge's application for a lease of houses belonging to the Master of the Armoury; this petition had apparently been dropped. A warrant for a lease to Captain George Legge was issued on the above-named terms, and the lease itself is dated January 19, 1671.[3]

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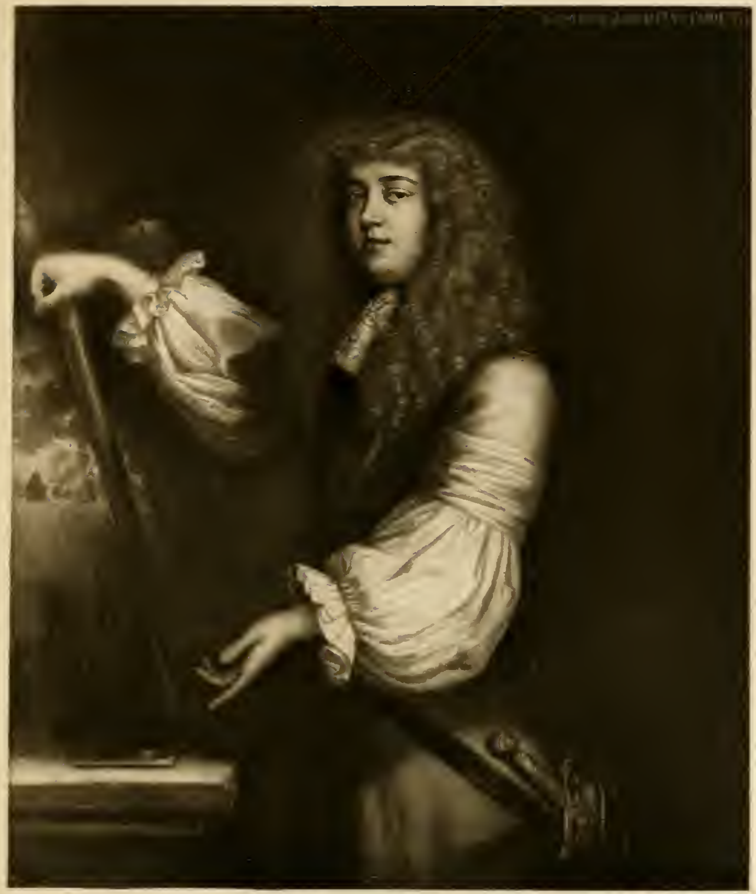
[1] J. Heneage Jesse.

[2] *S.P. Dom.* Charles II. 280 (104).

[3] *Rot. Pat.* Charles II. 22, part 7, no. 5, m. 17.



George, first Lord Dartmouth
from a portrait by Sir Peter Lely
in the possession of the Earl of Dartmouth

It was to commence on the expiration of Sir Roger Dallison's lease on June 23, 1672, and to run for twenty-nine years. In it is recapitulated the reasons for which it was granted, viz.

> in consideration of the many and great services done to his said maiesty And his late Royall father of blessed memory by the said William Legg And of the great trouble And expenses by him susteyned for and in the clearing of his maiestys right and title to the messuages landes and tenementes herein after mentioned imediately after his happy restoration &c.

The boundaries of the property leased are set forth, from which it appears that they had a frontage of 206½ feet 'in the high street called the Minorittes, leading from East Smithfield to Algate,' though it is impossible to identify now the points where the boundary began and ended. The property included a considerable area of waste ground extending as far as Goodman's Fields, but it was specially stipulated that no buildings should be built upon it. The King further showed his appreciation of the debt of gratitude he owed to Colonel Legge for his many services to his father and himself, and at the same time of the rising talents of his son,[1] by appointing the latter Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance in reversion after Mr. David Walter, and he wrote to Sir Thomas Chicheley, the Master-General, 'in order that he be made familiar with the practice of the office, desiring him to be admitted and employed in all matters relating therto, with power to vote at the board, sign letters & books, and assist generally in the office.'

An account of his tenure of the office, however, does not come within the scope of our history, for shortly after this the reforming spirit, which the Government of the day so fully possessed, impelled the King to a step which brought to an end the close connection that, for more than a hundred years, had existed between the Minories and that department upon which the safety and security of the kingdom must always so much depend. Either for the sake of economy or of more efficient organisation, it was determined that the official residence, the storehouses, and workshops in the Minories should be abandoned. The custody of these, which had as usual been committed to Mr. David Walter on his appointment as Lieutenant-General, was by him surrendered to the King, and together with the whole of the property leased to Captain George Legge, was by a patent,[1] dated January 10, 1673, granted to Sir Thomas Chicheley, Knight, the Master of the Ordnance, and his heirs and assigns for ever :

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[1] *S.P.* Charles II. 1671.

> and all the estate right title interest clayme & demand whatsoever of his Mat^{ie} his heirs & successors of in & unto the sayed houses & premises & every parte & pcel thereof and the reversion & reversions remaynder & remaynders together with the yerely or other rentes & profitts of the premises and of every parte & parcell therof &c. to be held of his Ma^{tie} his heirs and Successors as of his manor of East Greenwich in free & cōmōn Soccage yeilding & paying thereto yearly to his Ma^{tie} his heirs & successors the rent or sum of 5^{s} of lawfull money of England &c.

The patent specially provided that no existing leases were to have any force, except that granted to Captain George Legge. [2] Sir Thomas Chicheley sold the property at once for £4,300 to Sir William Pritchard.

Sir William,[3] then Mr. W. Pritchard, was in 1662 one of the King's officers in the Tower, and was in that year chosen Constable of the Parish of the Minories, much to the annoyance of Sir William Compton, the Master-General, who requested the Lord Mayor to relieve him of his duties.[4] In 1672, when he was appointed one of the Sheriffs of the City, he is mentioned as serving cordage and matches to the Ordnance Office. It was no doubt through his connection with the Ordnance Office that he came to buy the Minories. He was Lord Mayor in 1682. He died in 1704, and was buried on February 28 at Great Linford in Bucks.

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[1] *Rot. Pat.* Charles II. 26, part 12.

[2] *Rot. Clos.* Charles II. 26, part 7, no. 33, m. 1. It is quite possible that the grant to Sir Thomas Chicheley was only a convenient form of selling the property, and the purchase-money paid by Sir Wm. Pritchard was handed over to the Crown. There seems no reason why the King, evidently bent on economy, should have made such a gratuitous present to the Master-General.

[3] *Remembrancia, City of London.*

[4] *S.P.* Charles II. 1672.

Though the boundaries cannot now be definitely identified, it is clear, from the measurements given in the lease to Captain Legge, the grant to Sir William Chicheley, and the indenture of sale to Sir William Pritchard, that the property bought by Sir William must have comprised the greater part, if not the whole, of the parish. At all events, if the Crown retained for a time the freehold of any portion thereof, nevertheless from that time all official connection of the Minories with the Government and the officers of the Government came to an end. Of the Ordnance Department and its Lieutenant-Generals, we have, in these pages, nothing more to tell. From henceforth the Minories is solely in the hands of peaceful citizens, pursuing their several avocations of business and commerce, or, a little later, of those great Companies, who, in an ever-increasing degree, are gradually monopolising the trade of the Empire, which, by the exigencies of its ceaselessly growing bulk, is driving the residential houses of rich and poor alike further and further from its centre, the City of London.

Here and there we can glean from some contemporary historian a descriptive notice, from which we may in some way picture the outward aspect that the precinct, with its ancient mansion house and other buildings and surroundings, presented, but they are not many.

Stow, writing in 1601, says:—

> Near adjoining to this Abbey, on the south side thereof, was sometime a farm belonging to the said nunnery: at the which farm I myself in my youth have fetched many a half-penny worth of milk, and never had less than three ale pints for a half-penny in the summer, nor less than one ale quart for a half-penny in the winter, always hot from the kine, as the same was milked and strained. One Trolop, and afterwards Goodman, were the farmers there, and had thirty or forty kine to the pail. Goodman's son being heir to his father's purchase, let out the ground first for grazing of horses, and then for garden plots and lived like a gentleman thereby.

The name of Goodman still survives in the localities designated as Goodman's Fields and Goodman's Yard.

Then we learn indeed from Strype[1] how little road-making was attended to some 300 years ago in that part of the world :

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[1] *Strype*, vol. ii. p. 44.

> In the time of Elizabeth (he tells us) the streets about Aldgate, particularly from the two posts called the Bars, to a corner house then in the occupation of one Thomas Sparrow, were very miry and deep. The adjacent highway to the south, where the Queen's carriages used to pass from the Minories 'Mary Graces' (that is, where now are the Queen's victualling houses for the navy) is spoken of likewise, about the same time as extraordinarily bad to pass.

Hatton,[1] writing in 1708, states that the parish then contained 120 houses.

Robert Seymour, another historian of London, under date 1734, informs us that

> The Minories of which there are the Great and the Little, the Great is a broad and spacious Street, the entrance to which is out of Aldgate Street, over against S^t Botolph's Church and runneth southward into Little Tower Street. The street from the Minories to the Vineyard is chiefly noted for the Gunsmiths, who dwell there and drive a considerable trade. The little Minories are the Buildings erected upon the site of the Abbey of Nuns called Minorites containing two or three courts, all pretty well inhabited.
>
> Heydon Yard is broad enough for Coach or cart, at the upper end is a good large square or open place railed about with a row of Trees, very ornamented in the summer season, having on the east side coach houses and stables, on the West side a very handsome row of large houses, with Court Yards before them, and are inhabited by Merchants and persons of repute, on the North a square of good houses.

The gunsmiths' shops were undoubtedly a survival of the small arm factories of the Ordnance Department, which, when disused by the Government officials, were carried on possibly on much the same lines by private enterprise.

Another writer[2] tells us 'the Street [the Minories] has been noted for its gunsmiths to our time: and in 1816 their shops were plundered by the Spa Fields rioters on their way "to summon the Tower."' On this subject Jesse quotes the following lines of Congreve:—

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[1] Hatton, *New View of London* (1708).

[2] John Timbs, *Curiosities of London.*

> The Muleibers, who on the Minories sweat,
> And massive bars on stubborn anvils beat,
> Deformed themselves, yet forge those stays of steel
> Which arm Aurelia with a shape to kill.

The gun trade has not yet entirely deserted the neighbourhood.

It will be noticed that Seymour uses the expression 'Great Minories' to describe the main street, and Little Minories the parish generally.

Another historian,[1] Maitland, tells us that in 1756 there were 129 houses in the parish, and six persons that kept coaches.

An interesting feature of the outward aspect of the parish, but which none of these historians notice, though we find many references thereto in the parish records, is that till quite a late date the ancient gateways into the precinct still remained. Apparently every entrance into the parish, until towards the close of the eighteenth century, had its gate. There was one at the end of Church Street, Heydon Street, and Sheppey Yard. Another gateway led into Goodman's Fields, and another into Mansell Street.

In 1701 the vestry strenuously opposed an attempt of the owner of the adjoining property to build over the gateway at the entrance of Church Street, and in 1775 they ordered it to be pulled down, but that into Sheppey Yard was still standing in 1799. In that year the vestry agreed 'that the Parish should purchase from M^r Judson his right to build over the Gateway leading into Sheepy Yard for £33 6*s.* 8*d.* in order to prevent any Communication with the next building in case of fire.' The passing of this resolution was no doubt prompted by a catastrophe which happened two years earlier, from the account of which another glimpse is given us of the structural condition of the parish. On March 23, 1797, a very considerable portion of the parish was destroyed by fire, including the last remains of the abbey buildings, with the exception of one wall of the church, which the restorers of 1705 had retained. These were probably the buildings which had been used for the Ordnance stores, and to this fact is due their preservation for so long a time. The appearance which the ruins presented immediately after the fire has been preserved to us in two drawings made by the antiquary, Mr. J. T. Smith, and they are specially interesting as being, as far as we know, the only existing representations of any part of the Abbey. Mr. Smith[1] tells us

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[1] Maitland's *London*, vol. ii. p. 1006.

> Though we gain little from these ruins but fragments, yet they give some idea of the unsettled construction of the arches, and confused number of the openings and recesses, some being nearly flat, others almost round, and the rest variously and rudely pointed. The walls above the foundations were in some parts three feet thick, and consisted of stones principally cut into squares of various sizes: these were irregularly placed, particularly in the lower parts of the building. As to the upper windows they were more lofty in their forms, and evidently of workmanship decidedly long subsequently to the lower. I was unable to discover the ground plan of this Abbey, or its extent, by reason of several of its parts still being under the foundations of houses now standing on its South and Eastern parts in Haydon Square. As to ornament, nothing was left, except a stone cross let into the lower part of the West Wall, as given in my second plate of these ruins.

There is another engraving by Mr. Smith[2] of an ancient Inn which stood apparently in the main street, just outside the bounds of the parish, called 'The Old Fountein,' which he tells us was taken down in 1793, and adds that 'the dining room was curiously ornamented, and over the fireplace was a date, within a year of 1480. The timber works were so firmly constructed that Horses were employed to pull them asunder.'

Until a few years ago there stood in Church Street another old inn called 'The Sieve.' It had been in olden days a very frequent meeting-place for the parochial magnates, and it is often mentioned in the parish records. It had very large cellars, which extended far beyond the limits of the house itself. In the Coin Department of the British Museum is a

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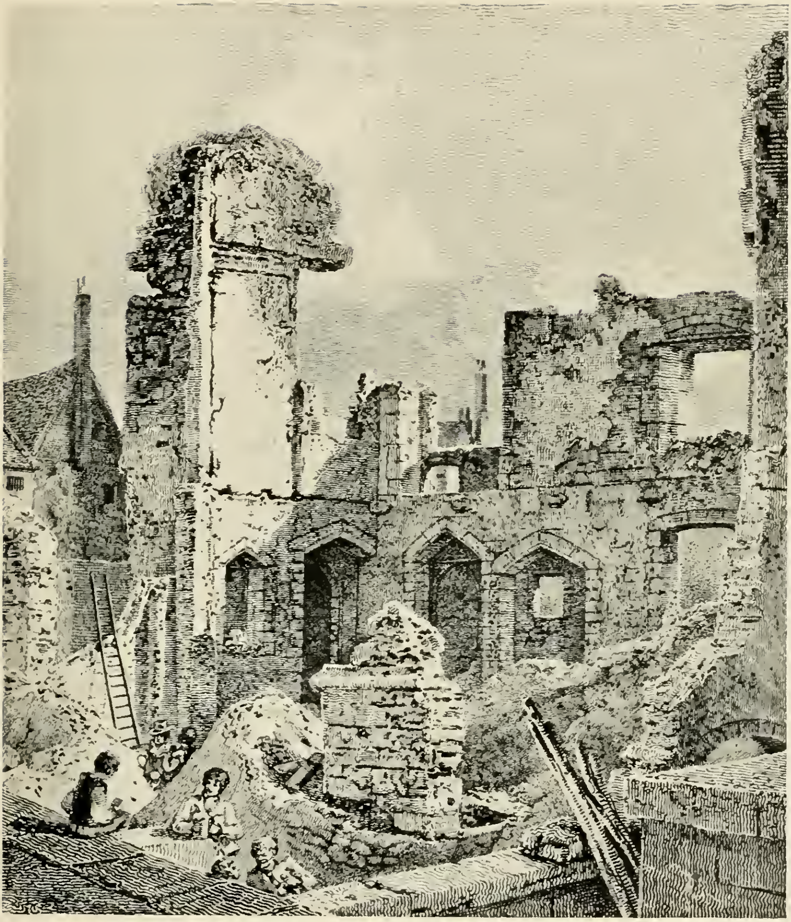
[1] J. T. Smith's *Antient Topography of London* (1815). See above, p. 86.

[2] J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of London.*



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE ABBEY BUILDINGS AFTER THE FIRE IN 1796

seventeenth century trade token[1] issued by the owner of the time (probably between 1648 and 1672):

> Obverse 'Richard Harris at ye Siev'
>   In the field, a sieve
> Reverse 'In Trinity Minories'
>   In the field 'His Half peny R$^{\mathrm{H}}$R.'

In 1737 Edward Hooker, of the City of Winchester, died bequeathing 'his house in the Minories London called the Seive alehouse being three houses or tenements' first to his son and afterwards to his daughter. In 1762 it was in the hands of two surviving daughters, Mary Hooker and Dulcibella Cranmer, a widow, from whom it passed to a son of the latter, James Cranmer. Subsequently it belonged to the Webbs of Quendon Hall, Essex, from whom it passed by marriage to the Byng family.

The residential character of the parish, which extended to a larger portion thereof than had previously been the case before the Ordnance Department was removed in 1693, began to be curtailed in 1770, when the East India Company purchased a considerable area for the purpose of erecting warehouses. In 1801 these were considerably enlarged, and the number of inhabited houses was still further diminished. In 1838 the East India Company sold their premises to the St. Katharine's Dock Company, who appear, however, to have made little use of them, as they were empty nearly the whole time that they were in that Company's possession. In 1851 the property was purchased by the London and Blackwall Railway Company, who the same year annexed Haydon Square, which for many generations had been without doubt a well-kept garden and a pleasurable resort for the inhabitants. This, under the hands of the Railway Company, it ceased to be for ever; ponderous arches, over which the heavy traffic of a busy railway were to run, took the place of the trees and shrubs and grass. In 1854 the warehouses, and what had now become a goods railway station, passed into the hands of the London and North Western Railway Company. Further changes quickly followed, houses which once belonged to the well-to-do, and had in later days been let out in tenements (single rooms being in most instances occupied by entire families), have gradually given place to shops and warehouses, until only three dwelling-houses, facing the churchyard, are left. The parish has been once again re-united to that of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, from which it was severed more than six hundred years ago; the church remains, but is to a large extent dismantled, and put to new and unaccustomed uses. The privileges which the parish once enjoyed, and for the maintenance of which it contended with such stubborn determination, are, if not wholly extinct, yet quite unknown to the few inhabitants who still remain, sole representatives of a long race of those who have borne no mean part in the making and the building up of the institutions which have exercised so vital an influence in the working out of the destiny of our country, and in forming, through the centuries of the past, the British character.

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[1] We are indebted to Mr. Philip Norman for the drawing and description of this token.

CHAPTER X

THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF A PECULIAR

The origin and designation of the parish—The parochial documents—The privileges of a peculiar inherited from the Abbey—Contentions with the ecclesiastical authorities—(*Post-mortem* absolution of a churchwarden)—Donative rights terminated in 1775—Civil exemptions and disputes arising therefrom—Patent of James II including the Minories within the liberty of the Tower of London (1688)—Resistance to the levying of county rates—Attempt to enforce the attendance of parishioners on juries—Confirmation by the Court of Exchequer of all privileges claimed (1742)—Final extinction of the liberty, 1894

We now come to what is by no means the least interesting subject connected with the history of the Minories, viz. its inner parochial life; but a question at once presents itself which we cannot fully answer: When did the precinct of the Minories become a parish, and how and by what authority was its parochial machinery instituted?

In order to find a definite answer, every possible source of information has been searched, but in vain. The first allusion to the Minories as a parish is in the will of a certain 'Julian Morgan[1] of London Gentallman' proved on October 15, 1557, in which the following passages occur:—'I bequeath my body to be buried w^{t}in the churche of the Minores w^{t}out Allgate of London, where as I am a paryshoner . . . . I give and bequeath unto the paryshe Churche of the Minores twenty shillings towards the furniture of the same Churche w^{t} necessaries . . . .' Another problem is to account for the origin of the designation of 'Saint Trinity' or 'Holy Trinity' as applied to the Church and the parish. We can discover no traces of such appellation until we come upon it, as the recognised name of the parish, in the registers in 1563, and in the parish records which commence three years later.

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[1] S.H. Welles, 54.

It was not by any means uncommon at the time of the Reformation to alter the designation of a church, in cases where the existing name did not approve itself to the parishioners, a course which was evidently taken by the inhabitants of the Minories when the precinct was regularly constituted a parish, and a formal parochial government established ; but for long afterwards in all documents, either official or relating to property, the locality is described as the ‘Minories’ or ‘the precinct of the late Abbey or Monastery of the Minories.’

Our knowledge therefore of the parish, as such, commences in 1557, and from 1566, the date when the parish records begin, we have the most ample materials for our purpose. These records, which happily have been preserved intact, are contained in eight books, all except the first being large bulky volumes of from 600 to 700 pages. They consist of the minutes of vestry meetings, and the churchwardens’ and overseers’ accounts.

The latter, however, have not been kept uniformly; for the first four years, 1567-1570, every item received and expended is noted ; the receipts from each individual, and the amount collected at each service in church, together with the names of the preachers, are all carefully recorded ; the smallest sums expended are entered separately, even to pounds of 10*d.* and 6*d.* nails for church repairs, the handwriting, it may be remarked, being exceedingly neat and legible. But this elaborate account-keeping (eighty pages being occupied with four years’ accounts) was not maintained from 1570 to 1687, the churchwardens contenting themselves with giving an annual summary of receipts and expenditure, and sometimes only the amount of balance handed on from one churchwarden to another. From 1687 we have again the full details of the parish receipts and disbursements of all kinds, until the right of spending its own money has been, step by step, taken away from the vestry and assumed by those larger public bodies, boards of guardians, local boards of works, and corporations.

On the title-page of the first volume of these records is the following inscription :—

An° 1566

The boke of all ye receatts and paymentts receavyed & payd by thomas bean & John hyde Chyrche wardens of ye pyshe called ye trinete w^{t}in ye minorys in this year 1566,

And the first entry is

Imprimis. Rec^{d} of Wylm yonge & Arnold poole upon Saynt thomas day before Christmas for ther accompt being then chyrche wardens for ii years then past x^{s}.

It is perhaps worth noting, as a curious piece of orthography in these early records, that the transcriber, whoever he was, having dated the years quite correctly up to 1569, was puzzled as to what came next and wrote 15610; afterwards, however, he put his pen through the figures and wrote 1570.

These records, which we have thus briefly described, are a veritable mine, from which we have been able to draw most of the materials for compiling the inner history of the parish. The matters which from time to time have been discussed at vestry meetings, or are brought to our notice in the accounts, are so various that we have deemed it convenient to treat separately the different subjects raised; and the one which naturally forces itself into the foremost place, for it dominates the whole life of the parish in all its aspects, is that of the privileges, which the parish inherited, of

A Peculiar.

As has already been stated, the Abbey of the Minories, with its buildings, its appurtenances, and possessions, was released altogether from the power and authority of the Bishop of London, in whose diocese it was situated, and of the Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of their respective chapters, as well as of every other prelate or person, ecclesiastical or civil, for ever, and was made subject to the Bishop and Church of Rome only.

After the dissolution (as was the case with all other Papal peculiars) the exemptions from the power and authority of the Bishop of the diocese and of the Metropolitan, as well as of the civil authorities, remained unimpaired, the only change made being

that[1] all manner of provocacions and appeales, here after to be had made or taken frome the jurisdiction of any abbottes pryours & other heddes and governours of monasteries abbeis prioryes and other houses and places exempt, in suche cases as they were wont or moughte afore the makyng of this Acte, by reason of grauntes or lib̄ties of suche places exempt, to have or make ymmedyately any appele or ꝓvocacion to the Bysshopꝰ of Rome otherwyse called Pope or to the see of Rome, that in all theis cases eꝰy ꝑson and persons havyng cause of appele or provocacion shall may take and make theire appeles and provocacions immedyatly to the Kynges Majistie of this realme into the Courte of Chaunꝰcie, in lyke maner and forme as they used afore to do to the see of Rome; which appelles and provocacions soo made shalbe dyffynytyvely deꝰtmyned by auctorytie of the Kynges com̄ission in suche maner and forme as in this Act is above mencioned; soo that noo archebishopꝰ nor bishopꝰ of this realme shall entermette or meddell with any such appelles otherwyse or in any other maner then they mought have done afore the makyng of this Acte.

Papal peculiars thus became Royal peculiars, with the same privileges and immunities always enjoyed within Royal residences. It is true that King Edward VI., by patent[2] bearing date April 1, in the fourth year of his reign, declared all exempt jurisdictions that 'lay and were situate within our city of London and its suburbs' (including, among others, the chapel of the Tower, Westminster Abbey, the chapel of the Savoy, and the site of the late house or monastery called the mynoryes) 'to be parcel of the diocese of London and within the care jurisdiction and visitation of the Bishop of London & his successors Bishops of London for ever.' This patent was confirmed by Queen Mary, by letters patent dated March 2, in the first year of her reign, and in the case of the Tower by the following ordinance:—

Item,[3] it is alsoe orderede for advauncement of devyne service and religion that the curate nowe servinge within the saide

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[1] *Eccles. Court Comm*ⁿ. *Report*, 25 Hen. VIII. chap. xix. § 6.

[2] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 222.

[3] Tower Records. Orders and regulations made by King Philip and Queen Mary, October 12, 1555, for the government of the Tower.

Towere, and his souccessores for ever, shall take instruction of the bysshope of London and his souccessores for the time being, by the name of the parsone of the Towere; and that the saide parsone and his successores and all inhabittauncyes within the saide Towere, shall perpetually be reputed and takyne to belonge to the speciall jurysdyctyon of the bysshope of London and his successors . . . and whereas there is a churche within the Tower, and therein divine sarvis daylie used, and yet neither parsone nor vicare of the same, and so apperinge but donative at the Kinge and Queene's Majesties' pleasure, whereby no parsone abide to have cure of sowle, which is to be remedid, and therefore their Majisties' pleasure is, the same to be established into perfecyon, as to their Grace's counsell, and the ordinary shall be thought convenient.

It is, however, clear that these patents and ordinances were *ultra vires*, and never had the force of law. At least they did not prove efficacious in enabling the bishops to assert their authority in any of those cases where it was disputed.

The inhabitants of the Minories on their part considered that the privileges of a peculiar were far too valuable to be lightly relinquished, and therefore for generations they stoutly maintained their rights, and, though occasionally giving way on minor points under extreme pressure, on the whole they resisted successfully for very many years all the attempts of either the ecclesiastical or civil authorities to dispossess them of their heritage.

It is due in a great measure to the possession of these privileges that the parochial history of the Minories is of so interesting a character; it affords what is perhaps a unique example of the blessings of home rule.

The parish was practically a miniature kingdom of its own, acknowledging no allegiance to any authority whatever except the Crown. The parishioners appointed their own minister, and, when appointed, he claimed freedom from any jurisdiction of bishop or archbishop; marriages were solemnised without banns or licence; they had their own magistrate, and licensed their own publican; persons dwelling in the precinct were free from arrest by outside authorities, and they paid no public taxes, except such as were specially levied upon Royal liberties. These amenities, however, had their drawbacks, as they were seldom allowed to enjoy them for long in undisturbed peace, and frequent, and sometimes prolonged, contentions were the result.

The earliest conflicts arose with the ecclesiastical authorities. In the churchwardens' accounts for 1570 we find

Payde to Master Jacson for this quarter that he was in prison and that we were fayne to hire other Ministers and therefore he had but xxxv^{s}.

(They added 5*s*. to this afterwards.)

to M^{r} Kellie and to M^{r} Rudduc for helping in his abcens xviii^{s}.

And again in the same year,

given to the preachers in pryson
M^{r} bonn̅a̅ vi^{s} viii^{d}.
M^{r} crayne ix^{s} iiii^{d}.
to M^{r} crayne (a preacher in prison) iii^{s}.
out of the boxe of the pore for the ministers w^{ch} were in prison and for the pore of thys parishe xxviii^{s}.
Gyve this Quarter to two preacher lyyng in pryson xxx^{s}.

Though there is nothing, on the face of these entries, to show for what cause and by whom these three clergy were imprisoned, there is not much room for doubt that it was the outcome of an endeavour, on the part of the Bishop of London,[1] to coerce the clergy and the churchwardens of the Minories to submit to his authority. Some further entries in 1577 [2] and 1578 certainly confirm this view:

Master bloke and I went to fulham to my lorde of London the ix day of June, being commanded thither be the pursevante In the yeare of oure lorde god 1577 and we spent theare and at our suppar when we cam hom amonge the hole parrishe viii^{s}.

M^{r} Cheston and I went to fullam to my lorde of London the tennth of august 1577 beinge commanded thither be the purssevant M^{r} cheston beinge sent to prison and we spent in prison going and commyng hom v^{s} iiii^{d}.

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[1] Edmund Grindal was Bishop of London at the beginning of the year, but on his translation to York he was succeeded by Edwin Sandes.

[2] Edwin Sandes in this year followed Grindal to York on the promotion of the latter to Canterbury, John Aylmer becoming Bishop of London.

> We were summoned to appear before my Lord of London the Last of August 1578 and there did put in surties and all the chardge Laid out there by the parishioners came to xxvi^s vi^d.

This last statement certainly implies that the imprisonments had produced the desired effect, and that, to a certain extent, the Minories had surrendered ; this is further confirmed by the fact that in 1577 there are, for the first time, entries of the payment of visitation fees :

> Layd out at the bysop vicitacon in anno 1577 at saint magnus xvi^d.

So again in 1579,

> Item for goinge to sene magnus to the byshopes visitacyone one tyme & sen myhil in corne well another tyme and for a booke of articles that we receaved of master chancler in his chamber iii^s.

Also in 1580,

> Item payed by M^r Guelyames at the beshops visitacyon xiii^s x^d.

And in 1586,

> Paid at the bysshop his vissittacion and beying before his chancellor V tymes the chargys whereof ys xv^s.

In 1584[1] a search was made in the Minories for papists, without apparently any resistance on the part of the parish ; but the Master of St. Katherine's, who was appointed to this duty, certified, with regard to the house of Mr. Richard Ireland (who was evidently a suspect), that 'no personn suspected lr̄e or anye othere matter or thinge suspicious fowunde in the house.'

As the details of the parish accounts from this time till 1687 have not been preserved, we lose trace of the varying stages of this controversy. We learn however, from Newcourt, that visitations were attended in 1592 and also in 1607 ; but the parish after that must again have successfully asserted its independence, for, though the full churchwardens' accounts are resumed in 1687, there is no entry of any visitation fees paid till 1730, but after that they appear to have been paid regularly. It was in this year, as stated below, that the parishioners voluntarily submitted to the Bishop, and the controversy closed.

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[1] *S.P. Dom.* Eliz. vol. clxxii. (76).

Curiously enough there was one occasion when the authorities of the parish themselves invoked the aid of the ecclesiastical court, whose authority they were generally so ready to repudiate. It would seem that Mr. Lewis Gwilliams had been excommunicated, and had died in 1590 while the excommunication was still in force. This, be it remembered, was one of the periods when the Bishop was successfully asserting his authority. What Mr. Gwilliams' crime had been is not stated, but as he was churchwarden and no accounts for that year had been entered, it is possible that he had purloined the parish money. However that may be, he had died excommunicate, and could not receive Christian burial; the Court of Arches was therefore appealed to, and a *post-mortem* release was granted.

The following is a copy of the document, which is written on a fly-leaf of the vestry minute book; the corner of the page has unfortunately been torn off, so that the note of the place of his burial and the cost of the funeral has disappeared. From the registers, however, we learn that he was buried in the Minories on September 20, 1590.

Rilevium Dni
Contra Ludovicum
Gwilliams Parochiæ
Ste Trinitatis Minories

Decimo octavo die mensis Septembris Dn̄i 1590 coram Vener^{li} viro mro Eduardo Stanhope legum Dc̄ōr̄ē Officiali et in ejus Camera situat: infra Collegium Dn̄ōm̄ advocatorum de Archubus London in presentia Walteri Horsell notarii publici comparuit personaliter Richardus Goodman Notarius publicus et exirit procurium suum pro dicto Lodovico Gwilliams et fecit se &c. Et nomine procurii quo supra allegavit Dn̄m̄ Lodovicum Gwilliams fuisse nuper aucthoritate hujus Curie propter quosdam suos contemptus legitime excōmūnicatum proque tali in Ecclesia parochali Ste. Trinitatis Minories publice denunciatum, quodque post dicte excommunicationis denunciationem Dn̄s̄ Gwilliams mortem obiit non impetrata prius absolutione sua, et quod Dn̄s̄ Gwilliams nihilominus admodum doluit et penitens fuit propter hujusmodi suos contemptus contra jura—et quod tempore mortis sue in hujusmodi excommunicationis sententia stetit et perseveravit—quodque Dn̄s Gwilliams in vivis existens humiliter exoptavit absolutionis formam & dicte excommunicationis sententia in qua inodatus extitit—quodque morte preveniente eam obtinere non potuit, unde facta fide per dictum Goodman supra veritate præmissorum, humiliter petiit Dictum Gwilliams ad omne Juris officium jam defunctum absolvi &c in sua persona ministrum que dicte parochie animari eum sepelire in aliquo loco sacro.

Tunc Dn̄s ad petitionem Dicti Goodman quantum in eo est et de jure poterat aut potest decrevit prout est petitum per Dn̄m Goodman

Willmus Bl . . .
The absolution of Lewes Gwil . . .
that was given for him . . .
and buried at the . . .
. . . it cost . . .

(Translation.)

On the eighteenth day of September 1590 before the Worshipful gentleman Mr Edward Stanhope Official Doctor of Laws and sitting in his office of the Lords Advocate of Arches, London, in the presence of Walter Horsell Notary Public, Richard Goodman notary public appeared personally and presented his power of Attorney for the said Lewis Williams and made himself &c. And by his right of attorneyship by which he had above alleged that Mr Lewis Williams had been formerly by the authority of this court, on account of certain acts of contempt of which he had been guilty, lawfully excommunicated, and for such in the parish Church of Holy Trinity Minories was publicly condemned. And whereas after the promulgation of the aforesaid excommunication Mr Williams died before absolution had been bestowed on him—and whereas Mr Williams nevertheless heartily bewailed and was repentant concerning his acts of contempt of this sort against the laws—and whereas at the time of his death he submitted and was obedient to the sentence of this excommunication—and whereas Mr Williams during life humbly sought the grant of absolution from the sentence of the aforesaid excommunication in which he stood bound—and whereas when death overtook him he had not availed to obtain it. Hereupon under oath by the aforesaid Goodman, by the truth of these presents it is humbly prayed that the said Williams now dead to all sanction of the law, should be absolved in the person of his proctor and that the minister of the said Parish Church should be authorised to bury him in some consecrated spot. Thereupon his Worship in accordance with the petition of the aforesaid Goodman, so far as in him lies and the law gives him authority decreed according to M^r Goodman's petition.

Another cause of frequent conflict between the bishop and the incumbent, was the refusal of the latter to accept either Institution, Induction, or Licence. Institution, and consequently induction, never appears to have been even suggested (in fact, the last two incumbents of the parish only—the Author and the Rev. S. Kinns—were instituted and inducted); but the bishops did try over and over again to induce, or force, the incumbents to accept licences, sometimes successfully, but very often the reverse. In several instances when the incumbents were licensed, it was not till after they had been some years in possession of the living. It is noteworthy that in 1578 (the year following that in which the churchwardens for the first time attended a visitation) we first find any record of a licence being issued, either to an incumbent or a curate; then Mr. Hease, the incumbent, and Mr. Cobhead, the curate, were both licensed, Mr. Hease having, however, already held the living for four years previously. Of the next thirteen incumbents only four were licensed, but the majority of the assistant curates were licensed. With a view to their future careers, they probably thought it wise to keep on good terms with their bishop, or possibly it was acknowledged that the independence of the incumbent did not extend to the curate.

Here we may remark that it is by no means easy to determine with certainty whether some of the clergy officiating were incumbents or curates.[1] It has been indeed a most difficult matter to draw up the list of the incumbents with anything like a certainty as to its absolute correctness. The names of those incumbents who were not licensed of course do not appear in the episcopal registers, and, for the most part, our only source of information is the signature of the clergyman presiding at the vestry meetings, or a note of the advent of the new incumbent, or a memorandum of some question in dispute (stipend or otherwise) between the minister and his parishioners. Even then, it is not always possible to determine whether the clergyman named, or who presided at the vestry, was the incumbent or the curate.

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[1] Such lists of incumbents as have been previously published owe their origin to the records at the Bishop's Registry, but as the names to be found there are only those of the clergy instituted or licensed by the bishop, most of those assumed by the authors of these lists to have been incumbents were in fact assistant curates.

Of those who without much doubt were incumbents, the Rev. Wm. Park was licensed in 1598 by Richard Bancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the same year in which he became incumbent. The next who received a licence was the Rev. Thomas Harmer in 1622, from George Montague. Then the Rev. John De Cerf, who became minister in 1630, but he was not licensed till 1633, by William Juxon. His successor, Mr. Thomas Rigdon (1640), was never licensed; and the next, Dr. Elkanah Downes, was not licensed till after he had been eighteen years incumbent; and it is noteworthy that his licence (by Gilbert Sheldon) followed immediately upon his being, for the second time, presented to the living by King Charles II. His successor again, Mr. Thomas Lunn (1666), was licensed immediately upon his presentation by Humfrey Henchman. The Rev. John Scott, however, who succeeded Mr. Lunn, was not licensed at all.

No doubt the fact that at the Restoration the patronage had fallen into the hands of the Crown, gave the incumbents an additional reason for asserting their independence, especially as the Crown itself appears to have regarded the living as a donative. But in 1694 the Bishop (Henry Compton) must have again asserted himself, and carried his point; for, on July 2, Mr. John King was licensed, having been appointed by patent on February 28 of the preceding year. After this all future incumbents appear to have been either licensed or instituted, though the question seems still to have been regarded as an open one; for, in a petition to Queen Anne in 1711, the church is described as 'one of your Majestyes Royall free Chappells,' and on the back of a petition to Queen Anne's Bounty, there is an endorsement stating that in the year 1730 the parishioners voluntarily submitted themselves to the Bishop (Edward Gibson).

Such voluntary submission on the part of the parishioners could have no binding effect on succeeding incumbents, but, as far as the clergy were concerned, all real or supposed donative rights legally ceased in 1775, when a grant was made to the benefice from the funds of Queen Anne's Bounty; for, by an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of George I., ch. 10. & 14, it was enacted that 'all such donatives which at the time of their augmentation' (by Queen Anne's Bounty) 'are exempt from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall by such augmentation become subject to the visitation and jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese wherein such donative is.' The reason for this being that

> the late Queen Anne's Bounty to the poor clergy was intended to extend not only to parsons and vicars who come in by presentation or collation, institution, and induction, but likewise to such ministers who come in by donation, or are only stipendiary preachers or curates, most of which are not corporations, nor have a legal succession, and therefore are incapable of taking a grant of conveyance of such perpetual augmentation as is intended by the said bounty.

It was therefore enacted

> that all such churches, curacies or chapels, which shall be augmented by the governours of the said bounty, shall be from henceforth perpetual cures and benefices, and the ministers duly nominated and licenced thereunto shall be in law bodies politic and corporate and have perpetual succession, and be capable to take in perpetuity.

With regard to civil matters the inhabitants of the Minories were no less tenacious of their privileges, and these they enjoyed without challenge for many generations. We have ample documentary evidence that the rights of a Royal liberty, which they claimed to possess, were fully recognised.

A very early notice in the parish accounts (1573) refers to the appointment of their magistrate, from which it also seems that they had sometimes a word to say in regard to the choice of the man.

> Item paid for makinge of a supplication to my lorde tresurer to obtayne m^r fissher to be oure Justice and for our charges travelinge aboute it vi^s iiii^d.

Then we find, for instance, among the State papers,[1] assessments for ship money (1638); Middlesex being assessed at £5,000, Westminster £1,180, Tower Liberties £142, the Minories £10, which shows that, at that time, the Minories was officially regarded as a liberty, in the same way as were Westminster and the Tower Liberties. It must also be noticed that it was not then considered as a part of the Liberty of the Tower; similar [2] assessments had also been made in 1635, 1636, and 1637, when we find memoranda of receipts of sums collected by Sir John Haydon, one being as follows:—

> Sir John Haydon collected £14,,7,,8 within the precinct of the Trinity Minorites for aid towardes the setting forth of a ship of war of five hundred tunns, now employed for the safeguard of the seas and defence of the realm.

Then again in 1673, a dispute having arisen [3]

> between the Officers and inhabitants of the liberty of East Smithfield and the Officers and inhabitants of the pish of ye Trinity Minoryes touching the paymt of the sume of two shillings a weeke joyntly rated upon the inhabitants of East Smithfield and the Minoryes for one year ending at Lady Day last past by a late additionall Act of Parliament made for the reliefe of such maymed officers and souldiers as had faithfully served his Matie & His Royall ffather in the late warrs.

The inhabitants of the Minories complained that the inhabitants of East Smithfield had endeavoured to charge them with nearly the whole amount, although the former were eight times as numerous as the latter. The question was referred to the justices sitting at Hicks Hall,[4] and by them it was decided that each 'liberty' was to be assessed in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, viz. eight to one. [5] We also find references to the immunity from arrest of persons residing in the Minories. Among the State papers of 1639 is a petition, addressed to someone in authority at the Minories, as follows[1]:—

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 398 (172).

[2] *Ibid.* 320 (68) and 369 (34).

[3] 22 Charles II.

[4] Hicks Hall was the Sessions House for the use of the Middlesex magistrates. It was built in 1612 by Sir Baptist Hicks, afterwards Lord Campden, and was situated near the southern end of St. John's Street, Clerkenwell. Its place was taken in 1779 by the present Clerkenwell Sessions House.

[5] The rights of sanctuary were abolished by Act of Parliament in 1697 in all places in London where such rights were supposed to exist.

> Whereas Edward Cludd Citizen & mercer of London is become bayle for one John Morton uppon an action in London of £100 whereby the saide Edward Cludd is now served accordinge to the sayd action ether to pay the money or bringe forth the Body of the said Morton. Now so it is may it please yor worshipp that if I shall finde the sayd Morton in Any of yor Libertyes w^thin^ the Minories you would please to grant mee yo^r^ warrant and leave for the execution of Law and Justice that so I may have the like freedome as if hee was in other place in London, the said Morton beinge no in Habitant in yo^r^ Libertyes, but only getteth ther to shelter himself.

In answer to this petition the following 'warrant' was 'granted to Edward Cludd to arrest John Morton in the precinct of the Trinity Minorites.'

> Whereas I am informed that Edward Cludd citizen and Mercer of London is become Baile for one John Morton upon an action in London of £100: whereby the said Edward Cludd is forced according to the said Action either to pay the money or bring forth the body of the said Morton. Forasmuch as I understand y^t^ the said John Morton hath conveyed himself into the prescinctes of the Minorites there to shelter himselfe & to have the said Edward Cludd lyable to the Action aforesaid upon the earnest desire of him the said Cludd to pursue his action by a Legal way.
>
> These are to signify that I do hereby give my consent so farre as in mee lyeth that the said Edward Cludd w^th^ ye assistance of the Constable or Headborow of this pcinct may according to law freely execute any writt, or other legal warrant upon the person of the said John Morton.
>
> Given at the Minorites the 27th day of April 1639.
>
> To the Constable and Headborough of the
> precinct of the Trinity
> Minorites.

It is unfortunate that the warrant (which is endorsed as a copy) has not the signature appended to it, but it was most probably given by Sir John Haydon, who appears, during his tenure of the office of Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, to have dominated the parish to a very considerable extent, though in this matter he does not seem to be quite sure of the extent of his power; it however proves conclusively that no writ could be executed within the parish without the consent of the parish, or of someone supposed to represent it. It also shows (what the general government of the parish confirms) that the inhabitants of the Minories never allowed their parish to become a refuge for criminals; they never so misused their privileges.

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 418 (73 and 74).

Another petition among the State papers (1664) seems to prove that, at all events, it was considered that stolen goods deposited in the Minories were safe from attachment. The petition is from a man who was in prison for being implicated in a robbery some years previously, in reference to which it is stated that the man had assisted his father (who had been executed for the robbery) in removing £700 or £800 to the Minories the morning after the robbery.

But however careful the authorities of the Minories may have been to prevent their parish becoming a sanctuary for those who would flee from the justice of the greater world outside, there were times when its privileges were looked upon by others as, to say the least, annoying. There are two documents (1623) in the 'Remembrancia' of the City of London bearing upon this, which tell their own story. The first is[1]:

> a Petition of the Ironmonger's and Cutler's Companies to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, reciting that, by an Act of Common Council of the 9th July, 1622, it was enacted that all foreigners bringing nails, knives, or other wares, made of iron or steel and cutlery wares, to the City should bring them to Leadenhall, there to be shown, searched, housed, and sold, and not elsewhere within the City or suburbs, on pain of forfeiture of one fourth of the value of the wares; and that in contempt of such Act divers foreigners had sold, and still continued to sell, such wares in inns, chambers, and other by-places in or near the City; some of them had taken houses or chambers in the Minories (a privileged place) where they sold them, to the deceit of His Majesty's subjects and the great hindrance of the Petitioners, who pray the Court to take steps for remedy thereof.

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[1] *Remembrancia, City of London*, p. 260, vi. 24.

The second is a petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, to the Lords, &c., of the Council, reciting

> that[1] by several grants and charters there had been granted to them the search and allowance of all foreign Loriner's Nailor's and Cutler's wares, in order that all false and unmerchantable wares might be forbidden, until viewed and allowed by the Wardens of the Companies having the government thereof. Of late to avoid such search, divers persons had secretly conveyed their wares to inns and secret corners of the City, where they were privately sold to strangers and others, who, for want of skill, were daily deceived thereby. Hitherto they had been and ought to be brought to the public market at Leadenhall. A competent number of shops and warehouses had been built there, of freestone, with all conveniences for the purpose, at the cost of the City, and two days a week had been appointed as market days for the accomodation of those trades, and an easier rent was required for the shops than the parties now paid in their lurking corners. The Nailers and Loriners had been lately content to resort for sale of their wares to the place so appointed, but the foreign Cutlers refused to conform, and had taken shops in the Friar's Minorites [Minories] a privileged place, where they uttered their false wares at their pleasure. The Petitioners therefore prayed that the foreign Cutlers might be enjoined by an Order of the Council not to sell their wares in any other than the appointed place.

A few years before this, an attempt had been made by the Lord Mayor and Corporation to assert their jurisdiction over the precinct, by issuing a warrant calling upon the parish to contribute towards a fund for emigrating poor children to Virginia; but, while the parish agreed to contribute voluntarily, they firmly repudiated the idea that the Corporation had any right to claim anything from them.

Nothing appears to have resulted from the petitions of the two companies and the City authorities, and for many years no further attempt seems to have been made to meddle with the privileges of the parish; but in the reign of James II. (between sixty and seventy years later) the City made a very determined effort to assert its authority both over the Minories and the Tower, and they were attacked as being parts of one and the same Liberty. Curiously enough this, which was really a fiction, became from that time established as a legal fact, and remained so till April 30, 1894.[1]

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[1] *Remembrancia, City of London*, p. 261, vi. 21.

It is not difficult to account for the origin of the idea that the Minories was part of the Liberty of the Tower. The Tower and the Minories were both Royal peculiars, they were both Crown property; a large portion of the Minories was used as an ordnance store, the headquarters of which were at the Tower; the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance had his official residence in the Minories, and seems, as time went on, to have gained a considerable ascendency over the general affairs of the parish; the real origin of the peculiar rights of the Minories was lost in antiquity. They had come to be regarded as simply emanating from its close connection with the Tower, and, as the City regarded them as one and the same, they attacked them together; and, when their rights were vindicated, the Royal patent affirming them, drawn in apparent ignorance of the history of the past, declared that they always had been one, or if in whole or in any part they had not been so, from henceforth they always should be one, and one they continued to be for over two hundred years.

We have no information as to the origin of the dispute or what form it had taken; all we know is that it had resulted in a breach of the peace. The King then took up the matter, and, as might be expected, elected to maintain by his Royal authority the rights of the Crown against the City. He first issued, in 1686, an Order in Council directing an inquiry to be made into the ancient boundaries, liberties, and jurisdictions of the Tower of London, and, when this inquiry was completed, he issued a patent defining the boundaries, declaring all within them to be within the Liberty of the Tower, and setting forth at the same time all the rights, privileges, and exemptions attaching to the liberty.

The text of the patent is as follows:—

James the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.—To all to whom these presents shall come greeting. WHEREAS several Differences have lately arisen between our Officers of our Fortress and Palace of our Tower of London and the Officers of our City of London and County of Middlesex touching the Liberties and Jurisdictions of our said Tower of London which have occasioned the breach of the peace, and divers other Inconveniences are likely to ensue thereupon in time to come unless the same be prevented by our Royall Authority AND WHEREAS by our order in Councell by us Issued in that behalf bearing date the Twelfth day of May last past Wee directed an enquiry to be made into the Antient Boundaries Liberties and Jurisdictions of our said Tower of London. AND WEE finding upon due examination had thereof that the same have been set out and ascertained by several of the Court Leet of our said Liberty and Jurisdiction of our Tower aforesaid being Antient persons who have for a great many Years been Inhabitants within our said Liberty, and other persons of good Judgement and Credit Authorized and Appointed by our Right Trusty and well beloved Councellor George Lord Dartmouth Master General of our Ordinance and Chief Governour of our Tower of London to view and take the Admeasurements and truly to set out the Abuttings and Boundaries of the said Liberty and every place belonging thereunto. AND WEE being Satisfyed upon the whole matter that the Boundaries and Jurisdictions of our said Liberty are in such manner as is mentioned in the schedule hereunto Annexed. KNOWE YE therefore that wee for the better Assertaining the true Boundaries Liberties and Jurisdictions of our said Tower And for preventing all further differences between our Officers of our said Tower of London and the Officers of our said City of London and County of Middlesex Concerning the premises and that Justice may for ever hereafter be duly administered to our Loving Subjects as well within our said Liberty as within our City and County aforesaid Respectively by the proper and Respective officers to whom the Execution thereof doth of right Appertain of our Special Grace certain knowledge and meere motion have Willed Granted Confirmed Declared Constituted and Appointed and by these presents for us our Heirs and Successors doe will Grant Confirm Constitute Declare and Appoint that all and every the place and places Limitt and Limitts in the said Schedule hereunto annexed particularly mentioned and described and every part and parcell of them and every of them be for ever hereafter called reputed and taken to be the Liberties of our Tower of London and that the same be for ever hereafter exempted and free from the Government and Correction of the Mayor Aldermen and Justices of the Peace and Coroners of or within the City of London or the

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[1] See below, p. 189.

Liberties thereof And of and from the Government and Correction of the Justices of the Peace and Coroners of or within the County of Middlesex and from all Power and Authority Priviledge and Jurisdiction of them and either of them and that the said Several places and Limitts in the said Schedule hereunto Annexed and particularly mentioned described and sett down and every part and parcell of them and every of them by what name or names soever they or any of them now are or heretofore have been called or known be for ever hereafter Annexed United and Consolidated unto Our said Liberty of Our Tower of London aforesaid and be called reputed deemed taken and known to be parts and parcells and members of and within the Limitts Boundaries Liberties Priviledges Jurisdictions and Government of our Fortress and palace of our said Tower of London any Law Custome Usage prescription or other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding AND WEE doe hereby further for us our Heirs and Successors Grant Ordaine and declare that the Chief Governour of the Tower of London now and for the time being from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter by himself or his Sufficient Deputy or Deputies shall have the Return and Execution of all Writts Process precepts and Mandates of us our heirs and Successors within our said Limitts Precincts places and Liberty aforesaid And shall have power to Administer and give to Such Deputy or Deputies the usuall Oath for the due execution of Such Office and Trust AND our further will and pleasure is And Wee do hereby further for us our Heirs and Successors Ordaine Constitute and Declare that from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter there shall be A sessions of the peace holden within the said severall places Limitts precincts or Liberty by Justices of the peace to be from time to time Assigned and Appointed by us our Heirs and Successors which said Justices of the peace to be Assigned as aforesaid shall hold sessions of the peace at the four Usual times in every Year by the Statute in that behalf Limitted and directed in such Convenient place within the precincts and Liberty aforesaid as the Chief Governour of the said Tower of London now and for the time being shall for that purpose Assign and Appoint And shall have full Power and Authority to doe and Execute all and Every Such matters and things which to the Office of a Justice of the peace doth belong or appertain AND WEE doe hereby for us our Heirs and Successors Strictly Enjoin and forbid as well the Sheriffs and Justices of the peace and Coroners as also all other the Officers and Ministers of us our Heirs and

Successors within our City of London and County of Middlesex or either of them And all other the Bayliffs Officers and Ministers of any of our Courts whatsoever that they or any of them do not Intermitt or Intermeddle in the said precincts and Liberties of our Tower of London or any of them AND WE doe hereby for us our Heirs and Successors Grant and Declare that the Court of Record now and of Antient time holden within the Liberty of Our said Tower of London shall have full power to hold Pleas of all and all manner of Actions whether Real Mixt or Personall of any value whatsoever the Causes whereof have or shall Arise within the said Precincts and Liberty of Our said Tower of London and Bounds in the said Schedule hereunto Annexed and mentioned And the Steward of the said Court for the time being shall have full power And Authority to Isue out such process upon any Action Commenced in the said Court as the Nature of the Action shall require directed to and be Executed by the Bayliffe or Bayliffes Officer or Officers of the said Court for the time being AND FURTHER we doe hereby for us our Heirs and Successors Grant and declare that there shall be a Court House in some Convenient place within the Precincts and Liberties aforesaid or any part thereof for Tryall and Decision of all Actions and Inditements to be brought and Comenced within the said Liberty AND ALSO that there shall be a prison in some Convenient place within the Precincts and Liberties aforesaid or some part thereof for Custody of all persons Comitted Arrested or taken by the said Courts or by virtue of any process Issued out of the same And that the said Chief Governour of the Tower Aforesaid now and for the time being shall have full Power and Authority from time to time to Appoint such necessary Officer and Officers of such Court of Sessions as he shall think fitt and allsoe the place where such Court House shall be And likewise to Appoint a keeper of the said Prison at his discretion and to Administer to the respective Officers of the said Court of Sessions from time to time the Usuall Oath or Oaths for the due execution of his or their respective Office and Trust And Likewise to Appoint the place where such prison shall be And our will and pleasure is AND WE doe hereby for us our Heirs and Successors Grant and Declare that the Steward of the Court of our said Liberty of our said Tower of London for the time being shall be Coroner of us our Heirs and Successors within our said Liberty and shall have full power and Authority to Doe and Execute all such matters and things within the said Precincts and Liberty which to the Office of a Coroner doth of a right

Apperteine having first taken the Usual Oath for the Execution of such his office befor the Chief Governour of the said Tower of London now and for the time being whom wee doe hereby Impower to Administer such Oath from time to time Accordingly and further wee doe hereby for us our Heirs and Successors Grant and Declare that the Justice of the Peace so as aforesaid to be from time to time Assigned and Appointed by us our Heirs and Successors within our said Liberty of our Tower of London shall have full power and Authority to Comitt all Traytors Fellons and other Criminalls and Offendors from time to time taken and Aprehended within our said Liberty unto our prison or Common Goal of Newgate in our said city of London or County of Middlesex hereby strictly Charging and Commanding for us our Heirs and Successors as well the Sheriffs of London as the Sheriff of Middlesex and the Keeper of the said Prison or Goal of Newgate aforesaid for the time being that they doe from time to time hereafter receive all such persons as shall be soe Committed by the Justices of the said Liberty of us our Heirs and Successors and them to keep in safe Custody untill they shall be delivered by due Course of Law any Custome Usage prescription to the contrary thereof Notwithstanding AND LASTLY we doe hereby for us our Heirs and Successors Grant and Declare that these our Letters Patents or the Inrollment thereof shall be in and by all things Firme Valid and Effectuall in the Law According to the true Intent and Meaning thereof notwithstanding the not taking or finding of any Inquisitions or Offices Inquisition or Office touching or relating to the premisses or any part of them And Notwithstanding the misreciting or not truely and perfectly reciting or describing any of the Antient Boundaries Liberties Lymitts or Jurisdictions to our said Tower of London belonging or of right Apperteining or of Any the Lymitts or places hereby made or declared to be parcell of our said Liberty or in the Schedule hereunto annexed Mentioned or any part of them or any Imperfections or defect in these our Letters Pattents conteined or any statute Act Usage Prescription Custome Provision or Restriction or any other Matter Cause or thing whatsoever to the Contrary thereof in anywise Notwithstanding IN WITNESS whereof we have Caused these our Letters to be made Patents WITNESS our Self at Westminster the Tenth Day of June in the Third Year of our Reign

BY WRITT OF PRIVY SEALE

The Liberties of the Tower of London Consisteth in

1st The Circumference without the Tower presented to be soe time out of Mind by the Court Leet for the Liberty of the said Tower and Annually gone upon Processioning days by the Inhabitants.

2nd The Kings Tower Ground called the [1] Little Minories.

3rd The Kings Tower Ground called the [2] Old Artillery Ground.

4th The Kings Tower Ground called the Well Close.

Whose several Abuttings and Boundaries are as follows Vizt

The Circumference of the Tower of London.

Imprimis: from the Water Gate by the Thames side to &c. &c. &c.[3]

&c. &c. &c.

The Kings Tower Ground called the Little Minories.

The Buttings and Boundaries of which are as Followeth Vizt

Imprimis: It beginneth at the South West Corner thereof being near Heydon Yard Gate at the House of John Rusden Goldsmith and goeth up Northward to the street side Sixteen Pole 20 Links more or less to the house of Thomas Dodson Tinman—This is the Front of The Little Minories Westward from thence Eastward to the Corner of a certain Brick Wall nine Pole Little more or less And from theme Northward through the House of Wm Callie close up to the wall Thirteen Pole little more or less From thence Eastward along by the Wall which is the North side of the said Parish to the Eastermost bounds or Wall Eighteen Pole little more or less—From thence Southward by the Bottom of the Orchard and Divers Houses and Stables some of which are in the Possession of Sir Wm Prichard is Eight and Twenty Pole little more or less—From thence Westward through Heydon Yard Gate to the middle of the Channell in the Minories Three and Twenty Pole little more or less—Between the Channell in the Street and the Houses is a Space Inclosed by Certain Railes and Trees of three and twenty feet in breadth.

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[1] The designation 'Little Minories' is here, and often subsequently, applied to the ancient precinct of the Minories, whereas the word 'Minories' is applied to the street running from Aldgate to the Tower.

[2] The Artillery Ground is first mentioned in the *State Papers* in a grant to the Lieut.-General of the Ordnance (Sir Richard Morison) in 1616.

[3] The Tower boundaries are omitted, as they do not directly concern our subject.

The Buttings and Boundaries of his Majesties Tower Ground called Well Close are as Followeth Vizt

[1] &c. &c. &c.

The Buttings and Boundaries of his Majesties Tower Ground Called the Old Artillery Ground are as Followeth—

[2] &c. &c. &c.

Upon all which Boundary Houses his Majesties Mark the Broad Arrow by his late Majesties Speciall Command hath Ever since the Buildings thereupon been sett up

PIGOTT

It might have been supposed that this patent was sufficiently clear and definite to have put an end to all doubts and further disputings, but this was not the case; only five years after this, in 1692, there is an entry in the parish accounts:

Spent at 5 times meeting to Cease ye Kings tax £1. 2. 6.

from which it would seem that a claim for King's taxes had been made upon the parish, which the authorities deemed to be an infringement of their rights of liberty, but how this matter was settled does not appear. Again, in 1730 we find the parishioners resisting the imposition of county rates. On June 9 there was

Paid at Mr Cary's Wn Several of ye Parishioners mett to consult our right by Charter against ye County 5s 6d

And under date June 15:

Expended on the day when Summoned before ye Justices of Middx to Show Cause why we Should not pay ye Sum of £1. 14. 0. for Vagrants being past in ye County of Middx 0. 7. 0.

Then again we read:

Janny 25 1730 (1731) paid at ye Nags head Wn we went to meet Justice Martin, relating to what we had done in defence of the Kings Royalty 0. 5s. 0.

At the same time gave to ye Clerk of ye peace—10. 6.

After hearing ye Justice out. The Gentleman of ye Artiliary ground & M^r^ Mount, for ye Tower division. And my Self with M^r^ Cary M^r^ Tracy M^r^ Cooke for ye Little Minories, Unanimously agreed if Ere we was Summoned again before ye Justices of Middlesex not to obey it lett ye Event w^t^ it would, thus we all agreed Joyntly to defend it & promised to make a memorandum of it in our Auditors book.

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[1] See preceding note. [2] *Ibid.*

It seems probable that the County did not think it advisable to press the matter further at that time, but in 1733 the authorities returned to the charge, making fresh demands, which were of course, as before, resisted.

On November 5, 1733, 'Expenses' were incurred

at M^r^ Fishers w^th^ some of ye Antients to consult upon ye Affair of Hicks Hall they threatening us to Pay £1. 14. to wards Roberies and Passing of Vagrants w^ch^ we are Exempted from by our Charter—0. 8. 6.

also

Expenses in going to justice Martin, with ye Overseer & Beadle of Spittle Fields about ye said Affairs—2^s^. 6^d^.

On the refusal of the parish, jointly with the rest of the Liberty of the Tower, on the ground

yt ye s^d^ Places are within ye Liberty of ye Tower of London which Liberty is also called ye Royalty of ye Tower, & ye Manor of ye Tower, & for which Liberty there is a distinct & particular Commission of ye peace And that as Inhabitants within the said Liberty of ye Tower they are exempted & not by Law Subject to ye Payment of such Assessment

the justices came to the conclusion that the matter was 'proper to be tryed and determined in a feigned Action in one of his Majest^s^ Courts at Westminster,' and John Martin, Esq., who was a magistrate both of the County and the Liberty, was requested to communicate this proposal to the inhabitants of the Liberty; they were, however, so firmly convinced that they were fully within their rights in resisting the demands of the county justices, that they would not listen to such a proposition for a moment. At the vestry held to consider the matter

It was agreed that this Parish with ye Rest of ye Tower Liberties will not Consent to try ye aforesaid Matter by a feigned

> Action but will stay untill we are forced thereunto, And that in case this Parish is Attackt upon ye said Matter, or if any Seizure be made on any of ye Inhabitants of this Parish for any Rate or Order made by ye Aforesaid Court at Hicks Hall, That in all such Cases ye same shall be defended at ye Charges of ye Parish, & ye Church Wardens for ye time being are hereby Authorised and required to Defend ye same, for w^{ch} ye inhabitants of this Parish will allow all such Charges in their Accounts.

Only once again do we find any allusion to an attempt of the County to assess the Parish, and that was in 1771, when an order of vestry is recorded that

> the present Churchwarden should not pay the sum of £2. 11. 0. Demanded by George Elliott High Constable by Virtue of a Precept Directed to him by the Bench of Justices at Hicks Hall.

It was not, however, only on the subject of taxation that the justices at Hicks Hall in 1730 attacked the privileges of the peculiar; they evidently disliked the exclusive jurisdiction of the Liberty; they also probably had their doubts as to the validity of the letters patent, and were determined to test its legality in every way they could, so they proceeded to summon the inhabitants of the Liberty to serve on a jury. This led in the first place, as usual, to a parish meeting and expenses 'at M^{r} Fishers. In order not to Serve on Jureys at Hicks Hall.' The justices did not at the time press the matter further, and for a few years it was left in abeyance, but in 1735 it was raised again. They once more summoned several inhabitants of the Liberty to serve on a jury, all of whom again refused to attend the Court.

After taking four years to consider what they would do next, the justices fined each of those who had refused to attend 26*s*. 8*d*., upon which the inhabitants of the Minories at once took measures to prepare for battle.

On September 4, 1739, the churchwardens 'Spent with the Antients and several others to consider the best way to raise £30 being overCots (for costs ?) to Defend the Liberty against the County—12^{s} 6^{d}' and on the 18th they 'paid M^{r} Bolton (the vestry Clerk) Drawing the Charter and Sergeant Urlin's opinion thereon £1. 6. 0.,' 'further law charges amounting to £2. 9. 6.' and also 'Spent with Several of the Inhabitants to Peruse the Councels opionion 9^{s} 6^{d}. Mr. Serjeant Urlin's autograph opinion, which the vestry clerk had been instructed to take, is bound up with the parish records, and is as follows:

> I apprehend the Inhabitants of this Liberty by the L^{res} patent mentioned in the Case to be well exempted from Serving on any Jurys save only in that Liberty; and I am informed (though it is not so stated in ye Case) that they have quietly enjoyd such Exemption ever since ye making of those L^{rs} patent. And therefore if a distress should be made of any of their goods for not serving on Jurys out of their Liberty; It seems to me advisable for the party, whose goods shall be distrained to bring an Action of Trespass or Trover ag^{t} the persons y^{t} shall actually make such distress in or to Establish ye Validity of the L^{rs} Patent & to prevent ye same from being drawin in question for ye future.
>
> SAM: URLIN.
> Sep^{r} ye 17th 1739

It does not seem that Serjeant Urlin's advice was fully acted upon, for instead of waiting till their goods were distrained, and then bringing an action for trespass, the parishioners consented to the course which the justices had before suggested in the matter of the county rating, viz. that the opinion of one of the superior Courts should be taken. The case was therefore referred to the Court of Exchequer, and resulted in the complete affirmation 'of the Liberties, Privileges, Franchises, Immunities, and Exceptions, granted to the Inhabitants of the Tower of London,' by the letters patent of James II. The record of this affirmation of the rights and privileges of the Liberty by the Court is a lengthy document. It commences thus:

> George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth TO ALL TO WHOM these present Letters shall come GREETING WE have Viewed a certain Record, in our Exchequer at Westminster, remaining in the Custody of our Treasurer's Remembrancer (to wit) Amongst the common Business of Michaelmas Term in the fourteenth year of our Reign
>
> The Tenor of which Record, followeth in these words that is to say

It then sets forth the claim of several persons named, and described

> for themselves and all other the Inhabitants of and within the said Liberty of his Majesty's Tower of London, of the Exemptions and priveledges hereinafter mentioned; who say that they and every of them are Inhabitants, within the Liberty of his Majestie's Tower of London residing within the Limits, and places, hereinafter mentioned, and Described, and every part and parcel thereof, are within the Liberty of his Majesty's Tower of London, and are and ought to be exempt and free, from the Government and Correction of the Mayor and Aldermen and Justices of the Peace, and Coroners of or within the City of London or the Liberties thereof; And of and from the Government and Correction of the Justices of the Peace, and Coroners of or within the County of Middlesex, and from all Power, Authority, Priviledge, and Jurisdiction of them or either of them, And the said Peter Delamar etc; etc; Claim that they, and every other the Inhabitant and Inhabitants, of the several Limits and Places in certain Schedules, to this their claim annexed particularly mentioned and Described, being the Liberty of his Majestie's Tower of London, are and ought to be free from Serving upon any Jury and Juries, at any Sessions of the Peace held and to be held, for the City of London, or County of Middlesex THEREFORE Pray to be Discharged of and from Certain Fines which are demanded of them in the Great Roll of the Pipe of the Twelfth Year of his Present Majesty's Reign (to wit) of Peter Delamar of the Tower Liberty Throwster for his Fine, because he came not to the General Session of the Peace of our Lord the King, holden at Hicks Hall in Saint John Street in and for the County of Middlesex the eighth Day of December the nineth Year of the Reign of King George the Second to enquire for our said Lord the King, for the Body of the said County, Although he was duly Summoned Twenty Six Shillings and Eight Pence, of Abraham Cole etc. etc. as by a Certain Constat filed with this Remembrancer appears. For that his late Majesty King James the Second by his Letters Patent etc.

The whole of the patent with its schedules is then recited, the document further stating that,

> because the Court will Advise concerning the Premisses therefore a day to the said Peter Delamar etc. etc. at which day they came by their Attorney.

And Sir Dudley Knight Attorney General of the King, that now is, being present here in Court, and being Demanded by the Barons, if he would say anything in the Premisses, for the said Lord the King, the Claim aforesaid of the said Peter Delamar etc. etc. being viewed and Inspected, the said Attorney General does not deny, but Confesses the Claim, of the aforesaid Peter Delamar etc. to be in all things true, as they in Pleading have above Alledged.

D Ryder.

And the Premisses being Viewed by the Barons, and mature Deliberation being had thereupon, It is considered by the said Barons, That all and Singular the Liberties, Priveledges, Franchises, Rights, Immunities, and Exemptions, above Claimed, by the aforesaid Letters Patents above recited, and mentioned, Given and Granted, be Allowed to the Inhabitants of his Majesty's Tower of London now and for the time being.

And the said Peter Delamar etc. be discharged of and from the several Fines, in the Constat, above recited specifyed Amounting to Fourteen Pounds thirteen shillings and four Pence against our said Lord the King his Heirs and Successors by reason of the Premisses, saving always the right and Action of our Lord the King if and so forth.

And We have Caused all and singular the premisses at the Instance of the above Named Peter Delamar etc. etc. to be Exemplifyd under the Seal of our Exchequer IN WITNESS whereof We have Caused these our Letters to be made Patents WITNESS Sir Edmund Probyn Knight at Westminster the Seventeenth day of June in the fifteenth Year of our Reign.

Mellish

From the wording of this document it would seem that inhabitants from all parts of the Liberty had been summoned to serve, and that they jointly took action.

This decision of the Court of Exchequer for ever set at rest the question of the validity of James II.'s letters patent. Another generation of justices (probably at the time unaware of this judgment of the Court of Exchequer) made an attempt as stated above to levy a rate upon the Liberty, but it was evidently soon made clear to them that they were acting beyond their powers, for, after the refusal of the payment, nothing more is heard of the matter.

The only question that has since arisen as to the Liberty rights, was raised by the parishioners of the Minories, under the belief that the quartering of soldiers upon them was an infringement of their privileges. On December 8, 1795, they appointed a Committee

> to wait upon the most noble the Marquis Cornwallis Constable of the Tower of London representing to him the infringment made upon the Tower Royalty by the Quartering of Soldiers upon the Publicans—Contrary to the several Charters and privileges granted to the said Royalty and to request the interference of his Lordship to redress such grievances.

The minutes, however, of the next vestry meeting, show that the parishioners were easily convinced that this exemption could not be sustained :

> Daniel Williams & Charles Newton Esq^{rs} attended the Vestry when after a full investigation of the business respecting the quartering of Troops in this Parish—it was perfectly understood that this Parish possesses no Priviledge whatever which exonerates them from the same.

Acts of Parliament have, from time to time, swept away one by one the privileges for the maintenance of which the parishioners contended so vigorously in the days gone by. The last to disappear were the possession, in conjunction with the Tower, of a coroner of their own and exemption from service on juries except those of the Liberty. Perhaps these may not seem to have been very valuable privileges, but at least they were links with the past and their disappearance cannot but be regarded with regret. We are now very much what our forefathers made us, and are certainly the gainers by keeping up anything that preserves our touch with those the fruits of whose labours we inherit, and to whom we owe so much. But, alas ! for good or evil the Liberty, with all its ancient rights and privileges, has wholly ceased to be. By an order of the Queen in Council, dated April 30, 1894, the Liberty was merged in the County of London.

CHAPTER XI

THE CLERGY

The chaplain of the Abbey and his salary—The income of the incumbents—Tithes—Easter offerings—Minister's rate—Appointment of the minister by the parishioners—The patronage vested in the Crown after the Restoration, subsequently exercised by the Lord Chancellor—Disputes between the incumbent and the parishioners in reference to salary, fees, and the custody of the registers—Termination of the minister's rate—Endowment of the benefice by Queen Anne's Bounty—Union of the benefices of Holy Trinity Minories and St. Botolph's Aldgate—The minister's residence — Preachers and lecturers — List of incumbents, preachers, and curates from 1567 to the present time

In our consideration of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the parish as a peculiar, we have perforce anticipated, to some extent, the subject of the present chapter—the Clergy and the Incumbency. We have however much more to tell, notably in reference to the status of the clergy in relation to the parishioners, their stipends, and the patronage of the living, and also the individual clergy themselves.

We shall deal in a separate chapter with another of the 'Peculiar' privileges, the enjoyment of which the clergy shared with the parishioners, viz. the right, or what was claimed as such, of performing marriages without banns or licence.

In the old monastic days, in addition to the ordinary abbey revenues, there had been a separate endowment for a chaplain, amounting to £4 9*s.* 4*d.* a year, received[1] 'from the wardens or masters of the grocers in the city of London for the stipend or salary of a celebrating chaplain, within the said

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[1] R.O. *Ministers' Accounts*, 31 & 32 Hen. VIII. No. 112, m. 10.

Monastery arising from the Manors of Dagname and [1] Cokerells in the Parish of Hornechurch in the county of Essex, payable the 6th of Feb^{y} only in each year.' There was also a sum of [2] £3 6*s*. 8*d*. which had been left as an addition to the chaplain's stipend, under the will of [3] Mary Reding (widow) for a period of twenty years, dating from January 20, 24 Henry VIII. (1533), which was annually paid by a certain Robert Brograne of Beckenham in Kent, in consideration of 100 marks paid by the said Mary Reding to him. The chaplain had also a residence within the precinct.

These endowments and the residence passed into the hands of the King, at the dissolution, with the rest of the property, 'the chamber called the mynesters lodging' being subsequently let for 3*s*. 4*d*. a year.

There is no information forthcoming as to the arrangements made for the performance of Divine Service, during the time that the Minories was held by the Bishops of Bath and Wells, beyond what is to be inferred from the fact that, in the grant to the Duke of Suffolk, the sum of 53*s*. 4*d*. was reserved, as 'annually allowed for the stipend or sustentation of a Chaplain to perform divine service and administer the sacraments to the inhabitants within the circuit and precinct of the late monastery.'

In the particulars for the grant, he is described as 'Chaplain serving the cure for the inhabitants within the ambit of the monastery.'

It would seem therefore that the lordly bishops of those days considered that this very reduced income was sufficient remuneration for the duties performed by the inferior clergy.

Unfortunately, as stated above, we are quite in the dark as to the legal process by which the precinct of the Minories was constituted a parish, and also as to the date on which its foundation took place; all we know is, that this had been accomplished by the year 1557, and it is only from incidental notices in the parish records that we are able to gather what was the character of the parochial system then formed. From these sources we learn that the 53*s.* 4*d.* secured to the chaplain, under the grant to the Duke of Suffolk, remained a recognised charge upon the owner of the Minories, but in the year 1573 it appears in the churchwardens' accounts as no longer paid directly to the minister, but to the churchwardens, and at the reduced figure of 50*s.*:

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[1] In a subsequent account this name is written 'Cokerleys.'

[2] R.O. *Ministers' Accounts*, 31 & 32 and 38 Hen. VIII. and 1 Ed. VI.

[3] This was no doubt the same 'Mare Redyng' who was buried 'in the Quire' of the church.

> Receaved of Maister Levetenant for a whole yeares rent that M^{r} bloke left in his hands due to the mynnester l^{s}

This 50*s.* was regularly paid into the churchwardens' hands, until the latter part of the reign of Charles I., when it began to fall into arrear. In 1644, the churchwardens held '4 Debentures' for its payment, and there were 'two more to be fetched out of ye office in ye Tower.' There is no record, however, of these debentures ever being cashed, or of the payment itself, after this, being resumed.

In a return made to Parliament in 1650, to which we shall have to refer again, it is described 'as tithes of the late Kings house situate in the hamlett,' and is stated not to have been paid 'for twelve years paste.' But a further provision had been made for the salary of the incumbent—the 50*s.* was regarded as the contribution of the occupier of the great house, representing the owner of the whole property, while tithes and Easter offerings were levied upon the rest of the inhabitants, and we are able to prove that the payment of these had been made compulsory, and in accordance with the terms of the statute 37 Henry VIII. ch. 12, 'for regulating Tithes in the City of London and its liberties.' This Act provides in § 2 that the citizens and inhabitants of the City of London and liberties of the same, were to pay to the vicars, parsons, and curates of the said city 16½*d.* for every 10*s.* rent by the year, 2*s.* 9*d.* for every 20*s.*, and so on from 10*s.* to 10*s.* By § 11 these tithes were payable quarterly. By § 12 the householders were also to pay 2*d.* for each member of their family or servants, taking the rites of the Church at Easter, for their four offering days.

A consideration of the following extracts from the accounts of 1567 and 1568 leaves little doubt that the tithes and offerings were levied legally under the powers of this act :—

R^{d} for offering on palme sonday beinge the xxiiith of marche at the co$\overline{\text{mnion}}$ of

Alexander bryckenshaw mayde & M^{r} Moore daught & his mayd	vi^{d}
R^{d} of M^{r} bloke & his wyffe & iii of his svante	x^{d}
R^{d} of M^{r} hydes for v of his men and one mayde	xii^{d}
R^{d} of the frenche wydowe & her daughter & another french man & his wyffe lyinge in her house	viii^{d}
R^{d} of peter demote & his wyffe & a nother wyffe lyinge ther	vi^{d}
R^{d} of hym that dwelleth in the shaid & his wyffe & a nother woman	vi^{d}
R^{d} of the cobler wt^{in} George Moores	ii^{d}

These and other similar Easter offerings are, it will be observed, all at the statutable rate of 2*d.* per head.

The following refer to the collection of the tithes :—

Recevid for chyrche dewte dewe at the feaste of thanuncyatyon of our Lady saynt mary the vyrgen as folow^{t}

Imp^{r}m^{is} of m^{r} bean for this q^{ter} paste	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} hydes	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} Marke antony	ii^{s} vi^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} sydley for a q^{ter}	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} coffyne	xx^{d}
R^{d} of the strang^{r} in the new house	xii^{d}
R^{d} of the basket maker	ii^{s} viii^{d}
R^{d} of the frenche damasker	xiiii^{d}
R^{d} of the frenche widowe	vi^{d}
R^{d} of my lady sheffeld	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
R^{d} of goodman bryckynshaw	x^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} more for his q^{ter}	xvi^{d}
R^{d} of edmonde goddart	x^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} blooke	xx^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} pycke	xviii^{d}
R^{d} of peter demote	xx^{d}
R^{d} of my lady Jaslen	xviii^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} yonge	xvi^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} medleys housse	vi^{s} vi^{d}

Sm^{a} to^{s} for this quarter ys xxxviii^{s}

Now, out of this list we have the means of determining the rental of two houses only, Mr. Young's and Mr. Medley's, but these are enough for our purpose.

In the official accounts for the Crown for the year 1552, is a list of the rents of the houses in the Minories paid to the Crown; but there is only one name corresponding in the two lists, and that is Mr. Young's; most of the tenancies having changed hands, and Mr. Medley's being held on a different tenure. Mr. Young's rent was 40*s.*, the tithe on which at 2*s.* 9*d.* in the pound should be 16½*d.* a quarter, and we find he paid 16*d.*

Then with regard to Mr. Medley's house, we find this entry:

> R^{d} of gabryell percevell in pte of payment of the chyrche dewte for the house that he noue holdethe of M^{r} Medley being behind for one hole yeare & a q^{ter} ending at the feast of saint john baptiste an^{o} 1568 after the Rate of his house Rented at viii^{l} by the year. . . . xxii^{s}.

This part-payment of 22*s.* gives exactly the tithe at 2*s.* 9*d.* for a year on £8.

We may mention that, though in these early accounts these payments are described as Church duties, they are subsequently frequently called 'Tythes of the parishioners,' or 'tythes for their houses.' Another point with regard to the collection of tithes and offerings, is that the payment was compulsory; when in arrear the goods of householders were distrained in order to enforce payment, and, in the case of paupers, the churchwardens paid the sums due out of the poor's money.

In the case of Mr. Perceval, as soon as the five quarters were in arrear, the churchwardens took proceedings for the recovery of the rent:

> Item paid to towe offissers the xiiith day of July ffor atachinge sartayn goode in the hands of m^{r} percevall xx^{d}.

So, when the inhabitant could not pay:

payed for chapman for his duties	xiii^{d}
Geven to m^{r} bloke for a maydes offering . .	ii^{d}

The full details of the tithes collected are given in the churchwardens' accounts from Lady Day 1567 to Michaelmas 1568 only; from that date to 1596, only the sum totals are recorded, and then they disappear from the accounts for more than 100 years, reappearing in 1719 as the minister's rate. The tithe in 1567 amounted to £7 12*s.* 2½*d.*; in a few years it reached nearly double that figure, and varied very little till our information with regard to it ceases, in 1596.

We have further to notice another curious fact connected with the tithe, constituting the thin edge of the wedge, which enabled the parishioners eventually to rid themselves of the obligation to pay tithe at all, viz.: that it was collected by the churchwardens, and a portion only was paid to the minister. After the year 1572, as stated above, even the 50*s.*, which was a fixed endowment for the minister, was paid in to their account. Out of the balance, the wages of the clerk and the scavenger appear to have been paid, for, in 1579, we find the receipts for the tithes thus entered :—

> R^{d} of tte inhebytances of the mineryes for there duties to paye quarterly to the minister and to the clarke and to the scavenger

And again in 1581:

> R^{d} for thes fyve quarters the thry deutyes yt is the churche dutye The clarkes dutye & the scavengers dutye the some of xvii^{l} i^{s} v^{d}.

Subsequently this arrangement for apportioning the income from the tithe between the parson, clerk, and scavenger, was modified. The fund for the payment of the minister was collected separately, and came to be called the minister's rate, the clerk's salary being paid out of a church rate. This we learn from certain presentments made in 1633 and 1634, one of these being as follows :—

> Wee make knowne to our ordinary that one . . . dwelling wthin our said precinct hath and doth refuse to pay . . . due . . . laste paste for Clarkes wages bread wine and other dutys for maintayninge of there Church w^{ch} dutyes hee and others his predecessors dweling in the same houses have payde for 20 years and upwards time out of mind and wee according to our charge in the 23rd article doe present the day and yeare aforesaid.

At no time does there appear to have been any fixed rule as to the proportion of the tithe that should be paid to the minister; at first the churchwardens seem to have given just what they pleased; in 1567 and 1568 they gave him £5; the next year it was £7 10*s*. 0*d*.; for a long time the amount varied from year to year, and they are very careful so to describe the payment as to preclude any idea that he could claim it as his right in virtue of his incumbency—it is 'wages' and the minister is spoken of as being 'hired':

> pd to M^r Haynes the xv^th day of Aprill for his q^ter wage beinge dewe at our Lady day an^o 1567 xxv^s

And in 1571:

> And we have laid out in payinge to the ministers for there waigis and heiringe ministers when we had none for this ii years last past xiii^l iiii^s

In 1582:

> Paid more to M^r heyes the Curratt for his whooll yeares wadges iiii^l x^s

In 1583:

> to M^r hayes for his hyer iiii^l x^s

Sometimes they supplemented the wages by an occasional gift, thus in 1570 we read:

> Gyve to M^r Boname whā he was sycke Lyynge this Quarter vii^s

And in the same year:

> M^r Bonams Aunte had iiii^s.

In 1629:

> given M^r Smart our mynister by consent of this Vestry 4,,00,,0

In 1631:

> out of which (i.e. the general parish funds) there was allowed by consent of this vestry to o^r new mynister M^r Jno De Cerfe as given in respect of his great paynes taken w^th us since he was our mynister 05,,0,,0

And again at a later time, in 1729, they sent Mr. Kinnersley in his illness 5s. (he died shortly afterwards).

If the minister were away from home, the churchwardens considered it was their duty to find, and to pay, a substitute, thus in 1569:

> geven to M^{r} roodoc for sarving when M^{r} haynes was out of town

On one occasion, however, in 1570 (as mentioned in the last chapter), when the incumbent was in prison, they deducted the amount paid to the substitute from his wages, giving him afterwards, however, a gratuity of 5*s*.

Then, in 1568, they appear to have made a voluntary collection to help out the fund for paying the minister:

> R^{d} of M^{r} Bean of the liberallities towards our Ministers wages for too quarters iii^{s} iiii^{d}

There are also occasional notices of the purchase of surplices, cassocks, etc., for the minister.

In 1568:

> p^{d} the xvith of december for vii ells of lynnen clothe to make a surples at xviii^{d} th'ell ix^{s} vi^{d}

In 1569:

> Payd for wax to sarve the minister xviii^{d}
> Payd the xxi daye of Disember for a casocke and a cape xviii^{d} iiii^{d}

1720:

For 10½ Ells of Holland at 7^{s} 9^{1} for the Surplice	3	18	6
for making the same		10	0

1759:

To an umberella for the Minister	0	6	0

1782:

Paid for a Rose for the Minister	0	1	2

In 1797 they bought a hood for Dr. Fly, and in 1811 a 'Master of Arts Scarf.'

But to return to the question of the minister's regular salary. The very casual system then in vogue, of paying the minister from year to year just what seemed good to the churchwardens, was evidently not found to be altogether satisfactory, and it was necessary to adopt a more definite arrangement. Accordingly it became customary to draw up an agreement on each new appointment to the incumbency. The first we meet with runs as follows :—

> At a Vestrie houlden w^th^in the pishe Church of the Trinitie Minories the vi^th^ daye Julie an. do. 1597. Memorandum it is agreed the daye and yeare above said between us the pishioners of the Trinitie Minories whose names are under written and John ffulthorpe the younger Clarke in concideracon that the said John ffulthorpe is content to be minister w^th^in the pishe afforesaid and to serve the cure there from the ffeast of S^t^ John the Baptist last past from one whole yeare from thence next following. That he shalbe allowed as followeth viz: from Midsomer last until Michaelmas next ffourtie shillings and from Michaelmas quarterly everie quarter xxxiii^s^ iiii for soe long time as the said M^r^ ffulthorpe shalbe contented to accept of the same and it is alsoe further agreed between the said M^r^ ffulthorpe and us the said pishioners that yf either the said M^r^ ffulthorpe shall think good to leave the said pishe and to give over to serve the said Cure there or yf the said pishioners shalbe mynded to make choice of anie other man for minister that then upon three months warning to be given by either to the other the said M^r^ ffulthorpe maie leave the same and wee the said pishioners to be at libtie to choose an other in his place And it is also agreed that the said M^r^ ffulthorpe during so long time as he shalbe minister w^th^in the said pishe that he shall have lycense to keep a schole for the teaching and instructing of children w^th^in the pishe Church of the Trinitie Minories and that he shall also have such other profits and duties as have heretofore been allowed to the Minister of the said place viz of burialls marriages Christenings and none other.
>
> JOHN FFULTHORPE.

In addition to the evidence which this remarkable document affords of the nature of the pecuniary arrangements existing between the minister and his flock, it also clearly establishes the fact, that not only was the patronage of the living vested in the parishioners, but that they exercised that patronage in a unique fashion—the living was to be held, like the lease of a house, on a quarter's notice from either side, and it was only by their leave that he could keep a school.

In subsequent years we meet with similar agreements.

In 1607:

> Agreed wth M^{r} Smyth Curate for viii^{l} p ann to be payd quarterly together wth the casualtys & the other offerings so yt he render the said offerings to the churchwardens . . . after he hath receaved all, as due to the parish.
>
> Robert Smith.

(The 'rendering the offerings' either means that he was to give an account of the amounts he received, or more probably that the £8 was to cover everything, and that he was to hand over all fees to the churchwardens.)

Then in 1630:

> It is this day agreed & consented unto by all the pishioners wh^{s} hand hereafter subscribed there names that the churchwardens hereafter for the time being shall pay every quarter unto our mynister M^{r} John Decerf the some of four pounds And our said mynester is to enjoy all the proffits that shall . . . by churchings marriages & burialls w^{h} is to continue so long as he shall continue to be our mynister

In 1631 a fresh agreement was made with the same minister:

> Whereas it hath formerly been agreed uppon by the general consent of a vestry yt our minister John De Cerf should receive quarterly from the Church wardens of the Trinity Minorits £4 Sterling and enjoy all the profitts and benefitts that should ensue by marriages burialls and churchings. At the said our Ministers request we at a vestry held the 6 day of October 1631 have agreed and consented that the same our minister shall henceforward receive from the Churchwardens as long as he shall continue amongst us quarterly the sum of £5 Sterling but on condition that hee enjoy no longer any of the aforesaid dutyes & profitts of marriages burialls & churchings to this we have subscribed our names.

From a return made four years later to the Court of the Star Chamber, we learn that the Ecclesiastical Courts had, by some means, been led to interfere in this matter, and had pronounced the receiving of the fees by the churchwardens to be an illegal proceeding, and consequently the fees were again paid directly to the minister. Not many years afterwards, however, when, with the practice of clandestine marriages, fees became more plentiful, we find the churchwardens once more laying their hands upon them. The return made to the Star Chamber runs thus :

[1] Trinety Minorites

To the Severall articles appearinge in a late order from the Lo: [2] B^{pp}: of London, and others the LL^{s} & judges of the high Courte of Starrchamber

We humbly Returne

That the soyle and jurisdic̄on of the said precincte or libertye being his Maiestyes, And the Chiefest part of the Inhabitants there his Ma^{es} Tennants As Touchinge the houldinge of vestryes, And orderinge of business, they doe neyther pretend anny Grannt, nor will insist upon prescripc̄on or power, But rather humbly desire to be directed by Aucthority having hitherto observed the president of there predecessors Who at their generall meetings especially aboute Easter for ye Chusinge of Church Officers doe cause as many of the Inhabitants to assemble as they thought fytt persons to consult about such affayres excludinge none that were thought able. As touchinge the fees and dueties received for all Ecclesiastical Rytes the custome hath form'ly byn to retayne the [3] obvencyons and by a gen̄all agreement to give a Voluntary contribuc̄on to the mynister of greater value. But of late years the late Inhabitants being informed & so directed by M^{r} Doctor Duck, And his Ma^{es} late atturney Generall M^{r} Noge The [3] obvencyons have likewise been paid as due to the Mynister. In which their customs yf Any Error or Irregularity shall appeare, The Inhabitants there are desirous to receave there Lo^{ps} better instruccens who wilbee ready to submytt to such reformac̄on, as by their Lo^{spps} shalbee ordered

John De Cerf Curatus ibidem
Antho: Upphill Churchwarden

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[1] Lambeth Palace Library (*Chartæ Miscellanæ*, vol. vii. p. 31). This document is undated, but the year (1635) can be fixed by the signature of the incumbent and churchwarden.

[2] William Juxon.

[3] The term 'obvention' signifies Easter offerings and fees of all descriptions.

The exceedingly subservient tone of this document is very noticeable; the terrors of the Star Chamber had their influence even upon the minds of the independent and self-ruling inhabitants of the Minories. From the statement that the 'obventions have likewise been paid as due to the Mynister,' it would naturally be inferred that they had been paying him the fees, as well as the imposition in lieu of them, but most probably it is only their bungling way of stating that they paid them instead. Another interesting question, upon which this return throws some light, is the way in which, at that time, the membership of the vestry was restricted. It would seem that a certain set of wirepullers took upon themselves to summon to the vestry such of the parishioners as they deemed to be capable, those whom they considered unworthy of the honour were left out in the cold.

At this time, also, it is evident that the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, who was the great man in the parish, exercised considerable influence over the vestry, so much so, that outsiders looked upon the appointment of the minister as resting solely with him. On Mr. De Cerf's death in 1639, Sir John Heydon was directly appealed to, as the acknowledged patron of the living. The [1] two following letters on this subject speak for themselves:—

To the Right Worpp^ll^ my much esteemed friend S^r^ John Heydon k^nt^: att his house in Trinity Minories.

3^rd^ December 1639
Lo: Savadge.

I presume to importune you in the behalfe of one Tho: Chessheere a servantt of mine conserninge the Ministers place In Trinitie Mineries now vacant and in your disposall whatt favour you shall shew him therein I shall acknowledge as I owe to my self and be obliged to requite itt in the like or any other way wherein I may express myself

signed this
3^d^ December

Your affectionate
friend
SAVAGE

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 435 (17) and (18).

To my very much honoured frend 3^{d} December 1639
S^{r} John Heyden Knight S^{r} E^{d} Savage

S^{r}

M^{r} Chesshire the bearer hereof was of us Brayennose Colledge in my time and held a very good Scholler and since that time hath Aproved himselfe an honest man and painfull in his vocation and noe doubt worthy of yr favour to which nobleness I c̄omend him and leave him to yo^{r} dispose and my selfe ever to be

S^{r}
Yo^{r} humble
servant
Edw: Savage

in haste this
3^{d} December
1639.

Mr. Cheshire did not have the living, it was given to Mr. Thos. Rigdon, and however great may have been the influence exercised by Sir John Heydon in the matter, in theory, certainly, the parishioners maintained that they were the undoubted patrons. [1]Another return, made to the Parliament of the Commonwealth in 1650, sets this question entirely at rest, and is instructive also, as showing how conveniently ignorant the parishioners at this time were of the true history of the tithes. They make out now that the 50*s*. chargeable on the great house was the only legitimate tithe, and that whatever else they paid their minister was in the nature entirely of a voluntary contribution—an assertion which we shall find was stoutly maintained in after years. On this plea, they evidently hoped to obtain some further endowment from outside sources, and eventually indeed they did so.

This is their statement:

Presentments made by the Jurors of the Division of the Tower . . . and true yearly value of all parsonages vicarages and other spirituall and ecclesiasticall benefices and livings and other things which in the places aforesaid to them given in charge by the Commissioners in that behalfe authorised by letters patents under the Great Seal of England in pursuance of an act of this present parliament of the Eight of June one thousand six hundred forty and nine and by the s^{d} jurors delivered to the said Com^{rs} the Two and Twentieth of October one Thousand six hundred and fiftie.

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[1] R.O. *Surveys of Church Lands*, vol. iii. (Lambeth Copy, vol. xii. p. 362).

TRINITIE MINORIES

Item we present That wee have butt one parish Church called Trinitye Minories. That the name of our present incumbent is Elkana Downs. That the true yearly value of our Church lyving is ffiftye shillings per Ann being formerly paid As Tithes of the late Kings house situate in the hamlett w^{ch} tythes hath not been paid for twelve years paste That the Church lyving Is not presentative for that the choyce hath allwayes been in the Inhabitants, the Ministers name is as above said his Salary for his paynes is Sixteene pounds per Ann A voluntary Contribūsion of the Inhabitants. That there is no chappell belonging to the Parish Church the Church is supplied by M^{r} Downes who performs all duties appertaining to his ffunction, that the Church is convenient to receive the Inhabitants and therefore noe need of being united to any other And lastly wee cannot discover or find out any other thing butt what wee have here presented w^{ch} may be any way conducable to the promoting of the desires and intentions of the parliament specified in the act other than our humble desires that such addition may be made thereto as the parliament hath prescribed in this said act it being for soe good a work as concerns the propogating of the Gospell and salvācōn of souls.

The authorities were apparently satisfied with the way in which the ecclesiastical affairs of the parish were conducted. At all events Mr. Downs remained in undisturbed possession of the incumbency throughout the whole period of the Commonwealth. There is no doubt about this, as the vestry minutes are regularly year by year signed by him as the minister of the parish. After the Restoration, viz.: on March 19, 1661,[1] Mr. (then Dr.) Downs was reappointed by the Crown to the living, and on April 5 the year following he was licensed by the Bishop. We have no means of ascertaining on what plea the Crown not only claimed the right of patronage but also insisted on Dr. Downs's acceptance of representation after he had held the living for eighteen years, but it is not improbable that the belief, which certainly had been held by some outsiders in Charles I.'s time, that the patronage was vested in the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, had been revived, when Charles II., with much difficulty it must be remembered, regained possession of the Minories for the Crown, and was accepted by him as an indisputable fact. The right, then, which he too readily took for granted had been exercised by his father's officers, he claimed as belonging to himself. If there was any controversy with the parishioners in the matter no record of it appears in the vestry minutes. For some reason or other the parishioners submitted to the removal of their ancient right of appointing their minister. One thing is certain, King Charles's claim was never afterwards disputed—the living was from henceforth regarded as a donative of the Crown. The following memorandum refers to the filling up of the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Lunn, who succeeded Dr. Downs :—

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[1] Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 563.

> Mr John Scott this 14th April 1676 was admitted by the pshers of Trinitie Minories by virtue of his Majisties pattant dated the 6th of March as Minister of sd psh

and then again :—

> upon the 28th day of February 1693 Mr Jno King produced his pattent and was admitted in possession of the pish Church in Trinity Minorys in pursuance of the said pattent
>
> Will Groome Churchwarden.

Subsequently the right of patronage passed into the hands of the Lord Chancellor.

There is no doubt that the change of patronage materially affected the status of the minister in the parish. As far as financial questions were concerned, things remained much the same, but in these matters he was able to meet the parishioners from a more independent standpoint. This is clearly shown in the concluding words of the memorandum in reference to Mr. Scott's appointment :—'and upon admittance did promish to allow the sd pshoners out of every wedding—it was 2s. 4d.' The minister now takes the fees and pays them a portion of them ; before this it had been just the reverse. The churchwardens also handed over to him what had been received during the vacancy :

> Recd this 14th of April 1676 of Jno Cannon & Thomas foreacker Churchwardens of the Trinitie Minories the sume of ffifteene pounds and is in full satisfaction for all Wedding recd by them since the death of Mr Thomas Lunn deceased late Minister of the

s^{d} pish & doe hereby acquite the sd pshoners of any further demand and do pmise to satisfy M^{r} Wesburne for officiating in the sd psh to this day

JOHN SCOTT minist:

The minister's portion of the wedding fees at that time appears to have been 5*s.* 8*d.*, this £15 would therefore be the proceeds of some fifty-three weddings, being rather below the average for the five weeks of the vacancy, the annual average being then about 800.

It was not long, however, before contentions between the incumbents and the parishioners again broke out. Early in 1694 the Rev. John King, D.D., was appointed to the living, and on May 9 the vestry passed the following resolution:—

Ordered by the Parishioners att a Vestry holden in the Parish Church of the Trinity Minories that our Minister M^{r} King doe continue Preaching once every Lords day and Receive from the Parishioners the sum of Sixteen pound per Annū att the usuall times of payment as the gift of the Parish for Preaching during the pleasure of the said parish.

It is not easy to determine the exact meaning of this resolution; it would seem, however, that, though the parishioners no longer appointed to the living, they still held the power of the purse, and this they wished to emphasise; on the other hand, Dr. King, as we shall see, was of opinion that the law did not oblige him, as incumbent, to preach every Sunday, and he was determined not to do so unless he were adequately paid. There was also another subject of strife, which led to further dispute between Dr. King and his parishioners, and that was the possession of the registers. It would seem, in earlier days, to have been considered that the minister was the proper person to have charge of the registers, but only at the will of the parishioners. In 1608 'it was agreed in a publique Vestry that the receiving of the Easter booke and keeping of the Register booke of the said pshe shalbe and remain to the minister of the pishe for the time being and to employ it to his own use.' Again in 1680, there is a memorandum that 'the register now remaining in the hands of George ffrank ordered to be imediately delivered into the hands of the Minister & Churchwardens for the present year.' But when Dr. King became minister, either the vestry or the churchwardens had, and intended to keep, the custody of the registers, for in the year following his appointment he made the following peremptory demand that they should be handed over to him :—

I John King doe by these present make a demand of all public Parish Registers of Marriages, burials, and christenings to be delivered up and laid upon the Communion Table, in order to the good conservation of them according to law. This demand made in full Vestry. May 3rd 1695

Witness my hand
JOHN KING

On the other side of the page is written :

May ye 3rd 1695 Bought a Register book to Register Marriages Births and Burrialls according to Mr King's demand in ye other page & delivered it to him for the good conservation thereof according to law

RICHARD STOCKE Churchwarden

They did not therefore hand over to him the existing books, but bought him one for himself, and this book still exists, and is endorsed 'Minister's Book.' Only weddings, however, are entered in it, and those of the two previous years are put in, but it was only continued for ten years, and at the same time the entries were made in duplicate in the books the vestry retained.

Later on, in 1766, we again find 'it was ordered that ye Minister have ye Care of the Register Book and when out of Town that ye key be left with ye Churchwardens.' This order was renewed the next year, on the appointment of a new parish clerk, which looks very much as if these officials had been claiming the right to the custody of the registers.

But to return to Dr. King's other questions of dispute; on the same day that he had demanded the registers, he also asked for an advance upon the £16 paid to him by the Vestry, and he requested that they would give him a reply on that day week. The following is the Vestry minute embodying their decision :—

Whereas Mr King Minister requested the Parish on this third day of May 1695 : to give him an answer by ffriday 10th May 1695 : whether they will advance ye 16 pound per annum to any greater summe it is ye opinion of ye vestry now met: that by ye reason of ye poors rates being advanced upon us ye Inhabitants and other charges we cannot advance any more to the said M^{r} King—& it is ffarther ye Opinion of ye Vestry now met that ye Parish & Clark shall receive as Customary ye summe of 3^{s} out of every wedding: which upon ye fisst refusal of M^{r} King's payment according to his agreement when he first came into ye parish we think it necessary that ye 16 pound per annum be void—and we doe further expect M^{r} King's performance of ye Duty of his Incumbency as ye law requires—neither have the parish in their hands any publick register at all.

Witness our hands at a publick vestry the 10th of May 1695.

The meaning of the last paragraph is inexplicable; the registers were properly kept at that time, and some one belonging to the parish must have had the books in his possession.

With regard to the other matters in dispute, it had come to this: the Crown appointed the minister, but the parishioners still believed it was a question entirely of their free bounty whether they paid him any salary or not, also that they could demand a portion of the surplice fees, and that, at the same time, they had a right to claim his ministrations every Sunday, even if they paid him no salary. On this point, however, they had shortly to acknowledge themselves in the wrong, as a resolution passed on October 1 of the same year testifies:—

Whereas M^{r} John King the present Incumbent of this parish is obliged in duty to read prayers but every first Lord's day in the month Now wee the parishioners of the said Trinity Minories being desirous to have preaching every Lord's day and the Sacraments duly administered Doe hereby promise and agree to allow the said M^{r} King the summe of sixteen pounds and the same to be paid him by the Churchwardens without any manner of deduction or abatement (and to Comence and begin from Michaelmas last past): Which said summe of sixteen pounds per ann is hereby agreed to be Continued and allowed the said M^{r} King during his Incumbency In Testimony whereof wee who are hereby assembled in Vestry have hereto subscribed our names the day and year first above written.

Mr. King's determination to stand upon what he believed to be his legal rights brought this controversy finally to an end. From that time the parishioners never again attempted to shirk the obligation of remunerating their minister for his services, though the amount never stood at a very extravagant figure. It must, however, be borne in mind that from 1645 to 1695 the incumbents derived a very considerable accession of income from the performance of clandestine marriages, which, at one time, cannot have fallen much short of £300 a year. In 1697, when this source of income had nearly reached a vanishing-point, the £16 was raised to £25, but, even with this, it was for some years a very poor living.

Up to the year 1719 the salary was provided out of the general parochial funds, then it was raised by a special rate called the 'ministers rate.' It was made the duty of the under-churchwarden to collect this, and whatever the rate produced over and above what was required to provide the stipulated sum was paid over to the general account of the churchwardens. They were also able to arrange amicably the apportionment of the fees, the parishioners, however, continuing to revise the list whenever they were so minded. As the minister's books, in which the accounts of the minister's rate were kept, have not been preserved, we are unable to trace the amount of salary which successive incumbents received, but the amount that was paid later in lieu of the rate shows that, as time went on, it considerably increased.

Then there were two circumstances which, towards the close of the eighteenth century, led to a modification of the incidence of the rate and eventually to its final extinction, and, with it, the last relic of the parochial tithe, of which the minister's rate was in fact the lineal descendant.

The first of these was the building of the East India Company's tea warehouses in 1770. In order to do this, several houses were demolished on which the rate was levied, and, as a compensation, the company paid direct to the incumbent £20 a year. When their premises were enlarged in 1801, the amount was increased to £40, and it was further increased to £55 in 1827, on the erection of additional buildings. This sum they continued to pay until the end of 1838, when they sold the premises to the St. Katherine's

Dock Company. In 1851 the premises were bought by the London and Blackwall Railway Company, who again sold them in 1854 to the London and North Western Railway Company. The latter company, for some reason or other, paid the incumbent only £50 instead of £55, and in 1868 they refused to pay it any longer. It is only fair to the Company to say that, at that time, they had not an idea what the origin and history of the payments were, but when some years later this was all clearly put before them, they asserted that they did not consider that they were under any obligation to pay it, and therefore they should not do so.

The other circumstance which tended to bring about the final extinction of the minister's rate was the destruction, by fire in 1797, of a large portion of the parish lying between Church Street and Haydon Street, part of which, at all events, consisted of what still remained of the old monastic buildings. While the place was in ruins there was nothing on which to levy the rate, and, in order that the incumbent should not suffer, the vestry, on October 27 of the same year, passed the following resolution:—

> It having been stated that the income of the Rev D^{r} Fly has become considerably diminished by the Fire in this Parish It was moved seconded and unanimously carried That the sum of Twenty Pounds be presented to D^{r} Fly by the Churchwardens in token of the Esteem the Parish have for the D^{r} and in order to compensate him for such difference of income.

When new houses were built on the site of the ruins, they were not assessed for the rate, and so small probably was the area still rated that it was hardly worth while to collect it. After 1803 there is no further allusion to the minister's rate, the £20, to make up for the loss, continued to be annually granted, but not with perfect regularity; some years it is not mentioned and would seem not to have been given, and after 1858 it ceases altogether; at that time it was being paid out of the rents of the parish property.

For a short time, during the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, the incumbent derived some income from the letting of pews, but it is uncertain when this pew-letting began and when it ended.

Had the minister's rate, even supplemented by the pew rents, been all that the incumbents could depend upon in these latter days, they would have been in a sorry plight, but it had occurred to someone in 1773 to try if something could not be obtained outside the parish, and a petition for help was presented to the Trustees of Queen Anne's Bounty, and not without success, for in 1775 they granted to the living a piece of freehold land consisting of 5a. 3r. 23p. called Hill's five acres in West Ham Marshes, Essex. The next year they added to the previous grant 16a. 1r. 16p. inclosed in West Ham Marshes, Essex, adjoining thereto, and in 1781 they made a further grant of a cottage, barn, and seven acres of land at Norwood in the parish of Ruislip, Middlesex, with common right. Unfortunately perhaps for the present value of the benefice, the Norwood property was sold in 1854 and that in West Ham in 1871. The capital from the first sale is taken care of by the Court of Chancery, that from the second by Queen Anne's Bounty, and together they produce a little under £300 a year, which forms the sole income of the benefice, the parishioners, unlike their neighbours in Aldgate, having, by the wiliness of their predecessors, escaped all liability to pay tithes or to make any contribution, in lieu thereof, to the support of their clergyman.

By the union of the benefices of St. Botolph's Aldgate, with Holy Trinity Minories, which was effected on January 1, 1899, the severance, which took place more than 600 years ago, has, as far as ecclesiastical matters are concerned, ceased; the vicar of St. Botolph's Aldgate, is now, and will always henceforth be, vicar of Holy Trinity Minories, as well. Out of the income of Holy Trinity, £150 has been assigned to St. Botolph's Aldgate, for the payment of a curate, and the residue to the church of St. Mary, Bow.

Residence of the Clergy

There does not appear to have been at any time a glebe house for the incumbent. The chaplain of the monastery had had his lodging within the precincts, and there can hardly be a doubt that some, at least, of the incumbents resided within the parish, but there is no record of any house having ever been assigned to the living. Occasionally, however, we read of the fitting of a chamber or house for the minister at the expense of the parish.

In 1595

for triminge of Master cheston chamber x^ii^ vii^d^

(Mr. Cheston must have been one of the preachers, as Mr. Hease was minister at that time.)

In 1625

They (the churchwardens) have d̅d̅ back again to the pishioners 6^l^ for and towards the furnishing of a chamber for M^r^ ffarmer forthwith.

In 1628

There was taken forth of ye poor stock ye 28th of May 1628 & geven M^r^ Smart our mynister towards his charge in furnishing & preparing his dwelling house the some of five pounds.

In 1711 an attempt was made, but without success, to obtain funds for building a parsonage house,

At a vestry holden November 30, 1711 M^r^ Brent of this psh acquainted the Vestry that the Rev D^r^ King Minister of this psh had desired him to move the vestry that they would joyn w^th^ him in a petition to the Com^rs^ for building of Churches to pray that a parsonage house may be built in some convenient place in this psh for the use of the Minister.

Mr. Brent was accordingly desired to prepare such petition, which was drawn up and addressed 'to the Right Honble the Lords Commissioners for building fifty new Churches in and about the Suburbs of the City of London.'

At a vestry held the 24th of March following, two other petitions (on the motion of Dr. King) were agreed to, and signed by the vestry, and addressed respectively, 'To the Queens Most Excellant Majestye' and 'To the Honourable the Knights Com^rs^ of Shires Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.'

The three petitions were in substance the same, except, that in the petition to the commissioners, they ask for a new vestry, in which 'to do their Parish business' but omit the statement that the church is a Royal Chapel.

The petition to the Queen is as follows:—

> The humble Petition of the Ministers Churchwardens and Inhabitants of the Parish of Trinity Minories in the Liberty of the Tower of London.
>
> Sheweth
>
> That Your Petitioners in the year 1706 by great Assessments on the said Parish and by the Voluntary Contribucon of diverse worthy Benefactors did almost entirely Rebuild and New Vault the said Parish Church or Chappell, Which is one of your Magestyes Royall free Chappells and in your own Patronage and Gift.
>
> That there is no Parsonage House Glebe or Tythe nor any other settled Maintenance for the Minister saving only a voluntary Allowance of Twenty five pounds per annum made him by the said Parish.
>
> Therefore your Petitioners most humbly beseach your Majestye out of your Royall Bounty and Goodness to be graciously pleased to recommend to the Honourable House of Comons the case of the Incumbent of this Parish as a compassionate case that so some provision may be made for building a Parsonage house for the more comfortable Residence of the Minister in the Bill for enlarging the time given to the Com^{rs} appointed by your Majestye pursuant to an Act entituled an Act for granting to your Majestye severall Dutyes on Coals for building 50 New Churches in and about the Cityes of London and Westminster and Suburbs thereof and other purposes therein mennc̄on̄ed and also for giving the said Com^{rs} further Powers for better effecting the purposes of the said Act mentioned.

This petition was signed by forty-four names. Nothing however resulted from it and no parsonage was ever built.

Preachers and Lecturers

Until comparatively recent years, the incumbents were almost invariably assisted in their work, not only by curates, but also by preachers and lecturers. The curates were most probably appointed by the incumbents, and consequently, except when, now and then, there is some casual reference to one or other of them, their names do not occur in the vestry books; in fact our knowledge of their existence is mainly derived from the episcopal registers.

The vestry, however, claimed the right to, at least, a share in the appointment of preachers and lecturers, and always paid them their salaries, so reference to them, in one form or other, is by no means infrequent. The earlier references to these clergy are in the accounts, such as the payments made to them for preaching or taking other duty, or the amounts collected when they preached. The following are a few of those referring to collections in 1567 :—

A note of all such money as hath byne receaved in our chyrche at the sarmonds as ffolw^{t}.

Imprimis at the scotche mans sarmond mayd on symond day & Jude in ye four none xiii^{s}.

R^{d} at the after none at m^{r} standens sarmond xvii^{s} xi^{d} ob.

R^{d} the fyrst of november in the foure none at m^{d} coverdales sarmond viii^{s} vii^{d} ob.

R^{d} in the after none at his sarmond vii^{s} ii^{d} ob.

Then again the following refer to the payments made to the preachers :—

Item p^{d} to a preacher for his sarmond and for mynistringe the comunion on XPnmasse day 1566 ii^{s} vi^{d}.

In 1567

p^{d} to m^{r} cockar for mynystrynge the comunyon the xxx day of marche ii^{s} vi^{d}.

In 1568

p^{d} ffor mynestrynge the comion to m^{r} cently the mynister ii^{s} vi^{d}.

ffor $\overline{\text{mye}}$stringe the co$\overline{\text{m}}$ion upon satterday the ffyrste of May xii^{d}.

Item M^{r} kyfthe preached one saynt stevens daye ——

Item m^{r} kyfthe preached the 10 daye of Januarye and gave the co$\overline{\text{mun}}$ione whereat we had all things discharged.

In 1569, among other similar entries,

geven to the duche minister for helping at the comunion v times viii^{s} iiii^{d}.

There appears to have been some kind of distinction drawn between preaching and lecturing, for in 1569 Mr.

Jackson is mentioned, sometimes as having preached, and at other times 'red a lector,' and in 1573 there is an entry

> Item paid to Master bateman for readinge of the leacktures the same yeare from mydsomer to mychaellmasse xxxiii^s viii^d.

It is just possible that the lectures were the Homilies, which were published in this year.

The above extracts, in addition to the information they give about the preachers, also afford evidence that the practice of having celebrations of the Holy Communion and sermons on Saints' Days was regularly maintained.

The salaries of the preachers appear to have been mostly paid out of the general funds accruing from the collections after sermons: but occasionally special donations were given for this purpose. We read in 1568

> Master markantry is to be thanked & master more and master Johnson for the lyberallyty towardes the preachers with other of the congregatyon or else it wold a coste us more money.

Then in 1580

> R^d of the in Abytances of the menryes of ther benevolenees towrdes our preacher and by ther promes due at mchellmas xxxii^s.

So again in 1585

> R^d of the gentleman in the dukes place towards the preacher this present year xv^s.

The usual fee for preaching, or preaching and celebrating the Holy Communion, was 2*s.* 6*d.*, but occasionally for 'mynestering' the Holy Communion only 1*s.* was paid. Small as these payments appear, the preachers, on the average, received about three times as much as the incumbent, but possibly they did most of the work. It is stated in a vestry minute in 1695 that the incumbent was obliged in duty 'to read prayers but every first Lord's Day in the month,' and as we find that in 1567 Mr. Haynes, who was at that time incumbent, was paid on one occasion xii^d 'for mynstringe,' it is more than probable that the incumbent was only considered as responsible for a limited portion of the duty, and if he did more he was paid extra.

Mention has already been made of the imprisonment of two of the preachers in 1570, and the evident sympathy of the churchwardens with them in their trouble. In 1596, another of the preachers, Mr. ffulthorpe, sen., was suspended, and his duties had accordingly to be provided for.

Paid to M^r^ Therkeild and M^r^ Sims for readinge service and for other charges while M^r^ ffulthorpe was suspended xvi^{s} iiii^{d}.

With the disappearance of the details of the churchwardens' accounts, our information with regard to the preachers for the time ceases, and does not reappear till 1708, when it is of a different character, and mainly the outcome of disputes between the incumbents and the vestry, as to their appointment. From the tenor of the minutes of the first recorded discussion on the subject, it seems not improbable that for some time there had been no preachers, and it is not unlikely that, with the general disturbance of ecclesiastical arrangements during the Commonwealth, they had then ceased to be, and that, for some time after the Restoration, there had been less eagerness to hear sermons, and to have more services than those which the incumbent was himself required to take, than had been the case in early days. The desire, however, for more frequent sermons and preaching revived again, as the following testifies:—

At a Vestry holden on Nov 10th 1708 to consider of proper method for Setling a maintenance for a Lecturer to read prayers and preach every Sunday in the afternoon and it having been moved in this Vestry by order of the Parishioners that the Easiest way for Establishing the said Lecture would be by a voluntary subscription It is therefore ordered that a lecturer be chosen accordingly to read prayers and preach a Sermon every Sunday in the afternoon. And that for the maintaining and supporting the same a Voluntary Subscription be taken of such of the parishioners and others who will please to contribute thereto And tis desired by this Vestry that M^{r} Joshua Carey M^{r} Lewis Spencer and M^{r} Humphrey Brent will undertake to procure such subscriptions accordingly And tis further Ordered that the aforesaid persons do wait on the Rev D^{r} King for the leave of his pulpit for such person as this parish shall choose for their Lecturer And that onely M^{r} Pycroft: M^{r} Pratt and such other person as D^{r} King shall nominate shall preach for the said Lecture.

It must be remembered that, at this period, the relations between the incumbent and the parishioners were exceedingly strained on the question of their respective rights and authority in all ecclesiastical matters, and it is evident from this minute that, while the parishioners clearly assert their right to the appointment of the preachers, they at the same time felt their position was not altogether as secure as they were inclined to assert. Dr. King in his reply proves himself an able diplomatist. He consents to what ancient custom and the power of the purse left him little ground for disputing, but he made his consent conditional on the parishioners binding themselves to continue the annual payment to himself, and on their providing a fitting salary for the lecturers. At a vestry held on December 10, 1708, the three gentlemen who had been deputed for that purpose reported that

they had waited on the Rev^{d} D^{r} King for the lieve of the pulpit for the preaching of an Afternone Lecture which the said D^{r} King readily granted to this Parish on condittcon they would continue (as formerly) the Five and Twenty pounds per ann: to the Minister for reading prayers preaching and administration of the Sacraments in the Morning (which has been duly paid ever since the year 1697) and that whensoever the same or any part thereof should be withdrawn or the maintenance of the said Lecture should not amount to £30 per ann then the said Lecture should immediately cease.

The vestry agreed to these terms, fixing, however, £25 instead of £30 as the minimum salary of the lecturer; it was at the same time 'decleared that this Act of vestry shall not any wayes prejudice the Antient Rights and privileges of the Mynister and Parishioners of this Parish.'

For some reason or other, the selection on November 10 of the two clergymen for the lectureship was not deemed satisfactory by a portion of the inhabitants, neither did they approve of an option being given to Dr. King to choose others, and in consequence of this the vestry passed the following resolution:—

Whereas at a Vestry holden in the Parish Church of Trinity Minoryes the Tenth day of November last to Consider of proper methods of Setling a Maintenance for a Lecture in the afternone

It is amongst other things ordered that only Mr Pycroft and Mr Pratt and such other person as Dr King should nominate should preach for the said Lecture and Whereas severall Differences and Animositys have Arisen and hapened amongst the Parishioners touching the election of the aforementioned Candidates for Composing and quieting whereof and for the Establishing Peace and Union in the said Parish It is therefore at this Vestry holden in the said Parish Church also this Tenth Day of December 1708 ordered that, that part of the said order of Vestry which relates to the Nomination of the aforementioned Candidates be and the same is hereby Wholly Superseaded and made voyd And that neither of the said persons be now or at any time hereafter Elected or appointed Lecturer of this Parish and forasmuch as this vestry are of opinion that the best method for supporting and continuing the said Lecture will be to have the same Preached by four other Divines.

This Vestry doth therefore Unanimously Elect the Persons following to preach the said afternoon Lectures Alternately either Quarterly monthly or Weekely as they shall agree (vizt) Dr Kennett Deane of Peterborough for the first of the Quarterly monthly or Weekly turns Dr Barton or Mr Waddington for the Second Mr Newcourt for the Third or Mr Butler or Mr Turton (which of them shall choose the Lecture they are now candidates for) for the fourth.

In the event of a vacancy occurring, it was agreed that Mr. Andrews should succeed. A deputation was then appointed to wait on Mr. King to inform him, and the other gentlemen concerned, of 'this Act of Vestry.' The parishioners however did not adhere to their agreement with Mr. Andrews, for

Att a Vestry held November ye 16th 1714 upon the occation of the Reverend Docttr Barton having resigned his parte in the Present Lector of the parish and to supply his place.

And it being objectted that at a former Vestry An order did pass in relation to the Revd Mr Andrews The question being putt it was Resolved Nemene Contra decente That the sd Order So fare as it relates to Mr Andrews be now Super seeded.

And the Question Being putt weether the Revd Adam Langley now Curatt of the Sd Parish be Chose a Lectorer in the Roome of the Revd Docttr Barton it passed in the Affirmative Nemine Contra Decente.

For some years the appointments to the lectureships, as they fell vacant, were regularly made by the parishioners, without any controversy arising. In 1729, two lecturers having resigned at the same time,

> ye parishioners of this parish having a very great Esteeme for ye Rev^{d} D^{r} Palmer Incumbent of ye same for his Excellent Preaching & for his faithful discharge of his Ministeriall office during ye time he has been amongst them,

elected him to both lectureships, but stipulated that, if at any time he were elected to a lectureship of another parish, or be otherwise provided for, then he was to resign one of these lectureships. This he promised to do. This arrangement continued until the death of Dr. Palmer in December 1747; his successor, the Rev. W. Petvin, objecting to the whole system of preachers, refused to allow anyone but himself to enter the pulpit.

This led, as might have been expected, to a very lively quarrel, which ended in a very decisive victory for the parishioners. A meeting was held on March 16, 1748, to consider the question, but the only official account of what passed is 'no order agreed to;' subsequently, however, someone, evidently not the person who usually entered the minutes, inserted the following statement:—

> The reason of Calling this Vestry was in order to Remonsterat to M^{r} Pettvin our new Incumbant the unreasonableness of his Denying the use of the Pulpitt not Only to our present Lecturer M^{r} Charles Belinger but Likewise to any other we Should chuse but those few of the Parishioners that Sided with him being (Espeshaly one or two of them) Both Rich and Clameras they Industersly Indevered to prevent all Questions being put well Knowing Every thing wold have gone aganst them So that the Vestry broke up in Confusion and nothing was don till the 2nd of March 174$\frac{8}{9}$ when upon M^{r} Pettvens and his Frends Submishion and M^{r} Bellingers Resignation all things were Amicably agreed and M^{r} Petvin and M^{r} Cookson were by the unanimous Consent of the Parish Chose joynt Lecturers.
>
> A more Pertickular acct of these things may be seen in the Bundle of Parish Papers for ye year 1748.

We read of no further contentions over the appointment of the preachers after this. The parishioners continued to elect their preachers, until they ceased to deem it worth their while to provide the funds for the salary; the last reference to a preacher which the records contain is a letter from the Rev. Isaac Hill to the vestry clerk, which the parishioners resolved to lay before the incumbent, Dr. Fly, for his opinion and advice, but with what result we are not told. The letter tells its own story.

April 9: 1833.

My dear Sir,

M^r Davy has recently presented me with the amount of the subscription for my services as Sunday Evening Preacher at your Parish Church in the Minories for the past year ending at Christmas last the clear amount of which is only £15–8–6. I have no doubt that you and every considerate Parishioner will feel that this is a most inadequate remuneration since such a sum would not provide a Minister the meanest Lodging with Bread and Water for his food. I must have acknowledged that I have solicited and obtained ten pounds additional from the East India Company but still the sum total is so small that whenever I have been compelled through Illness to obtain the assistance of another Minister I have been obliged to advance double the sum which after many months I myself received And were it not for the kindness and liberality of about Ten persons I should have ministered a whole year to an Attentive and numerous congregation not only without remuneration but actually with pecuniary loss for I remember correctly that only ten persons contributed anything. I shall therefore feel myself greatly obliged if you will kindly take this into your consideration and represent it to the Parishioners when assembled in Vestry who I am sure must feel the value and Consolation of having their Church open for divine worship and instruction at so convenient an Hour and be equally sensible that the weakest labourer in the Vineyard must be worthy of better hire than this.

I am Dear Sir
With great respect
Yours faithfully
ISAAC HILL.

For reasons already given, the difficulty of formulating a list of the clergy has been very great; the following, however, may be taken as substantially correct (dating from the time when the vestry books commence), though it is just possible that in a few instances a clergyman, described as incumbent, may have been curate, and *vice versa*. There were also very probably other preachers and lecturers besides those of whom mention is made in the books.

Incumbents.	*Preachers.*	*Curates.*
1567. Revd Haines	1567. Revd Lockar	
	1568. Revd Field Revd Coverdell Revd Kyfthe	1568. Revd Cently Revd Hillyard
1569. Revd Jacson	1569. Revd Alline Revd Barker Revd Croubye Revd Dawes Revd Goughte Revd Bowman	
1570. Revd Boname	1570. Revd Crayn	1570. Revd Kelli Revd Grennige
1572. Revd Felde		
1573. Revd Pinchley		
1574. Revd Robert Hearse (L. 1578)	1574. Revd Bateman (Lecturer)	
		1578. Revd Thos. Cobhead (also Lecturer in 1579)
1580. Revd Hayes		
	1585. Revd Anderson	
		1586. Revd Openshaw
	1589. Revd Willblond	
		1590. Revd David Inglishe
	1592. Revd Moore	
	1593. Revd John Nicholson (buried Oct. 18th 1593)	
		1595. Revd John Glass (Vicar of St James Clerkenwell)
	1596. Revd John ffulthorpe (senior)	1596. Revd Therkeild Revd Simcox

Incumbents.	*Preachers.*	*Curates.*
1597. Revd John ffulthorpe (jn.)		1597. Revd James Meadows, S.T.P. (Rector of St Gabr Fenchurch Street and St Geo. Bot. Lane)
1598. Revd Wm Park, A.B. (L. 1598)		1598. Revd Thos. Smith (Vicar of Ruislip)
1601. Revd Ri: Curteis		1601. Revd Robt Smith, A.M.
1602. Revd Henry Hughes		1602. Revd Gabriel Boult, A.M.
1607. Revd Robert Smith, M.A.		1608. Revd Richard Swinnerton, A.B.
		1617. Revd George Calvert
		1618. Revd John Riley, A.M.
		1619. Revd Robert Johnson
		1619. Revd Robt Challacomb, A.M.
		1619. Revd Jonas Stockton, A.M.
		1620. Revd John Lawrence, A.B.
		1621. Revd Christian Sherwood, A.B.
1622. Revd Thomas ffarmer, A.M. (L. 1622)	1625. Revd John Woolfeden (buried Augt 16, 1625)	1622. Revd Ralph Hatfield, S.T.P.
1626. Revd Daniel Smart		

Incumbents.	*Preachers.*	*Curates.*
1630. Rev^{d} John de Cerfe, A.M. (L. 1633, buried Dec^{r} 4, 1639)		1634. Rev^{d} Timothy Bracegirdle
1640. Rev^{d} Thos. Rigden		
1643. Rev^{d} Elkanah Downs, S.T.P. (reappointed and L. in 1661; also Vicar of Ashtead, Kent, & Rec^{r} of S^{t} Leonard, Eastcheap)		
1666. Rev^{d} Thos. Lunn (L. 1666. Buried in the Chancel, March 8, 1675)		
1676. Rev^{d} John Scott		1678. Rev^{d} John Weston, A.M. (Died Jan^{y} 1694. Also Rector of All Hall. Lomb. S^{t} & Preb. of Wells)
		1686. Rev^{d} Stephen Heath
1693. Rev^{d} John King, D.D. (L. 1694)		1697. Rev^{d} Swinfield
	1708. Rev^{d} White Kennett, D.D. (Dean of Peterborough)	
	Rev^{d} Samuel Barton, D.D.	
	Rev^{d} Peter Newcomb	

Incumbents.	*Preachers.*	*Curates.*
	1708. Rev^{d} John Turton	1712. Rev^{d} Adam Langley
1716. Rev^{d} Thos. Kinnersley L. 1721. (buried in the N. Vault, Dec^{r} 31, 1729)	1714. Rev^{d} Adam Langley (in place of D^{r} Barton)	1717. Rev^{d} John Maurice
	1718. Rev^{d} John Maurice (also lecturer of S^{t} Bartholomews, in place of D^{r} Kennett made Bishop of Peterborough)	
	1720. Rev^{d} Ross Ley (of S^{t} Catherines, in place of M^{r} Turton deceased)	
	Rev^{d} Morris	
1729. Rev^{d} Robert Palmer, D.D. (buried in S. Vault Dec^{r} 31, 1747)	1729. Rev^{d} Robert Palmer, D.D. (in place of M^{r} Newcomb & M^{r} Langley)	—— (?) John Pick (buried in N. Vault Dec^{r} 3, 1756)
	1741. Rev^{d} John Rowley	
	1742. Rev^{d} Charles Bellinger	
1747. Rev^{d} William Petvin (buried in N. Vault (Aug. 8, 1770)	1748. Rev^{d} W. Petvin & Rev^{d} Joseph Cookson (in place of M^{r} Bellinger appointed to the Mastership of the Coopers School at Ratcliff Cross)	1757. Rev^{d} Thos. Newman
	1765. Rev^{d} Thos. Newman	

Incumbents.	*Preachers.*	*Curates.*
1770. Rev^{d} Henry Fly, D.D. (Min. Can. S^{t} Pauls, Junior Cardinal & Sub-Dean, P.C. of Kingsbury, Midd. R. of S^{t} Augustines, London, V. of Tillingham, Essex, & Willesden, Midd.)	1814. Rev^{d} Sanders 1833. Rev^{d} Isaac Hill	1770. Rev^{d} David Lloyd 1805. Rev^{d} Thos. C. Wilkinson 1813. Rev^{d} Jephson
1834. Rev^{d} William Blunt, B.A. (buried in E. Vault Oct. 27, 1849)		1849. Rev^{d} John Bathurst Deane
1850. Rev^{d} Thos. Hill, M.A.		
1865. Rev^{d} William Graham Green (Chap. at Kensington Palace)		
1877. Rev^{d} Edward Murray Tomlinson, M.A. (V. of East Meon, Hants 1889–1901)		
1889. Rev^{d} Samuel Kinns (resigned in 1899)		
1899. Rev^{d} J. F. Marr, M.A. (V. of the united parishes of S^{t} Botolph Aldgate, & Holy Trinity Minories)		

The rapid changes of curates in Queen Elizabeth's reign and throughout that of James I are very remarkable, and unaccountable; the long tenure (64 years) of the incumbency by Dr. Fly, and also the numerous other preferments which he held, apparently at the same time, are also noticeable facts. Beyond this, there is nothing in the list of clergy before us that appears to call for further remark. As incumbents of an independent parish the list is closed, but we trust that the present and future vicars of the united parishes will feel not less pride in being the successors of the long line of incumbents of the precincts of the Minories, than in being the vicars of the larger, but not more famous, parish of Aldgate.

CHAPTER XII

CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES

Marriage law in England—Clandestine marriages in the Tower, and other privileged places, and in the Minories (1644)—Attempts to suppress them resisted by the incumbents and parishioners—Agreement with the Bishop of London in 1695—Finally suppressed by Act of Parliament in 1754

The performance of marriages without banns or license, claimed for many years as one of the privileges of a peculiar, next demands our attention. Together with its other aspects, it affords another illustration of the unique position held by the incumbents; the right being considered not as that of the incumbents only, but as belonging also to the parishioners. In all the dissensions that arose, when attempts were made to put a stop to such marriages, the parishioners always maintained that it was one of their privileges which, at all costs, was to be sustained.

Now, in order to understand the conditions which made clandestine marriages possible, and for so many years rendered unavailing all the efforts of the authorities to put a stop to them, it is necessary to make a brief reference to the state of marriage law at the time, as well as to its origin.

From very early times the ideas held by the Church as to the principles which should govern the marriage contract were, in very many ways, directly in conflict with those expressed in the laws of the countries into which Christianity had made its way. By degrees the Church formulated her own marriage laws, and then, as time went on, attempts were made to harmonise the ecclesiastical and civil laws on the subject. Eventually, about the ninth century, the former were accepted generally throughout Europe in their entirety, and for many centuries afterwards such modifications as they received were made by Church Councils, or on the authority of Popes, such laws being enforced almost entirely by ecclesiastical authorities.

But, as in other matters, the Church of England, to a very great extent, maintained her independence of Rome, and, in some important points, her marriage laws differed from those of the Continental States, notwithstanding the efforts of some of the Norman bishops to substitute the Roman for the English law.

The English marriage law at the time of the Reformation was what it had been made by its own bishops and Councils, moulded upon the principles she had inherited from the early Church, with very little interference from the Crown or the civil power.

One of the most essential differences between the marriage law of the Church of England and Ireland and that of the other branches of the Western Church was the absolute necessity in the former that the ceremony should be performed by a clergyman in holy orders (whether a deacon might officiate is not certain), in the latter it was not so. It was not till the Council of Trent that the Church of Rome decreed it indispensable that a marriage must be solemnised by an ordained clergyman, but, as those decrees were never accepted in France or in these islands, a marriage has always continued in France and Scotland to be held valid without the intervention of a clergyman; the ancient Canon laws of England being in force in Ireland, but not in Scotland.

It was this law, which had prevailed in England from time immemorial, admirable as it was in itself, conjoined with what was a growth of exclusive monastic privileges, viz. the existence of clergy in the land who were not amenable to episcopal authority, that made it so difficult in later days to suppress the crying evils of clandestine marriages. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities as a rule both did their best, as far as their powers extended. The Court of Chancery had penalties for its wards who should contract marriages contrary to its rules and regulations; so had the Ecclesiastical Courts for persons in general, and for the ordinary clergy who should illegally conduct the marriage service; but then, the knot once tied by a clergyman, wherever the ceremony was performed, could not be undone, and there was hardly a time when, on occasion, it was not thought worth while to brave the penalties which could often be evaded, or from which release could be obtained by absolution. Even clergy were sometimes ready to risk suspension if it seemed worth their while, but difficulties were minimised when clergy whom the bishops had no means of calling to account, and the ecclesiastical courts could not touch, could be found to perform the ceremony. There is good reason for believing that, in pre-Reformation times, the chaplains of religious houses, which were independent of episcopal control, were sometimes at least the officiating clergy, but there is no evidence to show that these malpractices existed to any great extent until after the Reformation.

Notwithstanding the charges of misconduct of all kinds that have been repeatedly brought against the religious houses, there is no reason for supposing that their privileges were taken advantage of for organising anything like a system for the solemnisation of clandestine marriages. This was not done till after the Reformation, and even then, although the chaplains of dissolved monasteries had ceased to be under the control of their former heads, and in some cases, being without cures, had not been effectively brought back under the authority of their bishops, it was not to them that the idea of utilising their independent position for such a purpose first occurred.

It was in the Tower of London (which enjoyed the same exemption from episcopal authority in matters ecclesiastical as the religious houses to which these privileges had been granted), at the beginning of Edward VI's reign, that the claim was formulated of the right of the chaplains therein to marry all comers without banns or license.

From the account of these marriages, preserved in the Tower records, it is certainly a legitimate inference to draw that, as was the case with the parishioners of the Minories later on, the chaplains were abetted in their practices by the Constables and Lieutenants of the Tower, who were all sharers in the profits.

The memorandum which we print below, and which throws so much light on the history of these marriages, appears to have escaped the notice of those who have written on this subject. It is undated, but, as Sir Wm Balfour is mentioned as being Lieutenant of the Tower at the time, and as he was in office only till December 20, 1641, it must have been written previously to that date.

The registers of these irregular marriages are not now forthcoming, and therefore this document, as far as we can discover, is the only authentic account of them existing.

It is headed[1] 'The State of the Tower Church and Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, and the Priveleges of it.' Its first portion is devoted to a defence of the privileges of the Chapel as a Royal donative, the second portion deals entirely with the question of the performance of clandestine marriages. It is endorsed 'Of the Priviledges and Mariages in particular,' and runs as follows :—

1. The Priviledges of foreyn Mariages appeereth by Registers from Ed. 6. 1546 and under Sir Robert Oxenbridge High Constable of the Tower 1558 Sr Richard Blount Lieutenant 1563 Sr Fra. Jobson 1565 Sr Edw. Warner 1569 Sr Owen Hopton 1572 Sr Michael Blount[2] Sr Dru. Dury,[3] Sr Richard Barkley,[4] Sr John Payton,[5] Sr Geo: Harvey,[6] Sr Wm Waad[7] Sr Gervase Helwys[8] Sr George More[9] and in Sr Allen Apsleys[10] Middle tyme the psent incumbent Mr Hubbock beeing sent for to appear and Dr Rives the Kings Advocate, beeing writt unto by Sr Allen Apsley, sayeing, as the King's Attorney was to be for the Kings buisines in Temporalls so the K. Advocate for the King in spūall buisines was enterteyned by Sr Allen Apsley pmising to bee wth him in 3 days and Mr dr pmised to appeer for the said Incumbent and the Curate his sonne, sayeing, his appeerance might serve for the p sonall. And yet the Archbb.[11] being very angry, excomūnicated both in

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[1] *Ancient Documents, Privileges of the Tower of London*, p. 50 (preserved in the Tower).

[2] October, 1590, deprived November, 1595.

[3] Sir Drew Drury, November 1595 . . . deprived September 22, 1596.

[4] Sir Richard Berkeley.

[5] Sir John Payton, June 11, 1597, to July 30, 1603.

[6] Sir Geo. Harvy, July 30, 1603.

[7] Sir Wm. Waad, September 22, 1605, to May 13, 1613.

[8] Sir Gervase Helwys, May 13, 1613, to November 15, 1615.

[9] Sir George More, November 1615, to March 8, 1616.

[10] Sir Allen Apsley, March 8, 1616.

[11] George Abbot.

open Court, The d^{r} held his peace, their excōmunicācon was read by the Archbb. then in Court, published next Lord's day at Barking Church in the forenoone, and in S^{t} Katharines in the afternoone and there the Rector and his Curate getting themselves absolved on the Monday and appeering on Thursday the next Cōmission day, they were both cōmitted to the new ꝓison where they having but 2 meales payd x$^{£}$ and then the Incumbent being psecuted in the High Cōmission Court first by S^{r} Charles Cesars countenance Cōmissarie for the faculties, and then S^{r} Allen Apsley beeing wrought to forsake the incumbent, he brought in 26 of the Parishioñs against him who were all sworne in Court, only one examined, S^{r} Allen Apsley keeping the incumbent out of the Tower by force telling the Archbb. and hee openly mēncōning it in Court, though hee could not doo it by lawe or equitie, hee would doo it by Countenance, and gott for his Chapleyne M^{r} Burrel in the Tower over his head, the Incumbent desyring as hee was compelled by ye Court to finde a Subsidie man to undertake wth him for Appeerance, and to stand to the Courts Order, so hee might enioy his place at the Tower till anything was ꝓved against him, and have assurance to answer him his charges in case they could not prove their intent w^{ch} both S^{r} Hen; Marten and others thought fitt, but could not be obteyned, and so thIncumbent having been psecuted and still appeering for 3 years together and first 10 and then 14 ppounded against him, and not one p ved, the cause fell wthout any recompense to thIncumbent.

2. In S^{r} Payton's time D^{r} Steward beeing consulted wth by fee, said the Priviledge was strong enough, but the grief was the grist was carried to another Mill.

3. S^{r} W^{m} Waad when one Hayes a Curate at the Tower upon ꝓtence of some Tower marriage was cōmitted as from the High Cōmission to a Pursevant sent thrice for his Curate, threatening to take upp one of their Chaplaynes at their heels to serve at the Tower in the Interim and so the Curate was deliṽed.

4. Againe If they of the Faculties might farme among other things the Licenses of Marriages to laymen for divers 100$^{£s}$ by yeere, the said S^{r} William Waad said, hee saw no reason that hee might not continue the Privileges of Marriages at the Tower, being for so many of the Kings servants that take paynes by night & day.

5. By order of the Councell, Bonds are taken of 300$^{£}$, with 2 suerties in the same forme that other Ecclīcall Officers use and the Lieutenants take still care therein.

6. The Marriages have been suppressed now at the Tower

these eight years almost not wittstanding S^{r} Allen Apsley Lieutenant had twice signified under his hand, that this is one of the Tower privilidges, wch hee said & wrote hee was bound by both to mainteyne: once to the King, another time to the K. Advocate.

7. A ꝓmise was given to have a meeting on purpose before the Lords for the debating & finall setling of this priviledge May 30 1623 wch is not yet cōm to passe, by reason S^{r} Allen Apsley neglected it. Th Incumbent neũ durst marry any since without license, out of his way 100 marks by the yeere, having nothing valuable left by 20 nobles yearly out th'Excheq^{r}. Of late the moderne Lieutenant[1] S^{r} William Balfour, th' Incumbent being in the country from Midsom̃ till november 18 by often importuning of the K. Servants to maintayne the Tower Priviledges of w^{ch} this is one, whereunto hee was sworne at his late Admittance, gave way to sōme fewe foreyne Marriages, appointing the Clarke to look to it, and one to take bonds as other Ecclīcall Courts to ꝓvent abuse But the Curate the Incumbent's sonne durst not meddle (quod falsum est).

The last observation, in brackets, is in a different handwriting and possibly means that the curate did meddle, at all events some part of the preceding statements was not true.

There is another allusion to Sir William Wade's action in reference to these marriages in another document among these records. It is in a petition, drawn up in 1728, against the rating of the Liberty as if it were a parish; it was stated that the chapel and the chaplain were not subject to any ecclesiastical authority, and as a proof of this it is argued that 'S^{r} William Wade procured the Surrender of one Hayes a Curate at the Tower, who had been committed by the High Commission Court, upon a Pretence of some Marriages, &c., the Lieutenant threatening to seize their Chaplain, if Hayes was not set at Liberty.'

Whether or not this was the end of clandestine marriages at the Tower must remain doubtful, but either as a consequence of the attempts to suppress them there, or because the state of society produced an increasing desire for contracting marriages in this way, the practice was about this time taken up in many other places, and in subsequent years the number of marriages so performed increased to an enormous extent. The most notorious of these places was the Fleet Prison, where the claim for exemption from episcopal supervision appears to have been based on the fact that the wardership of the Fleet was an hereditable office in fee, and therefore private property, in which the bishop had no right of entry. Apart, however, from the immunity claimed for the precinct of the Fleet, the clergy themselves who lived there and performed these marriages were, from their position and character, out of reach of ecclesiastical coercion, and yet, being in holy orders, the weddings they solemnised were legally valid. These priests held no preferments of which they could be deprived, nor in character or worldly possessions had they anything to lose, in fact, many of them did not pretend to shield themselves under the protection of the supposed privileges of the Fleet, but were ready to go anywhere at any time, day or night, to unite couples who were prepared to give them sufficient remuneration.

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[1] Sir William Balfour was Lieutenant till December 20, 1641. Laud was then Archbishop, and it was by his exertions that these marriages at the Tower were eventually suppressed.

The incumbent and the parishioners of the Minories of course founded their claim to the right of having marriages performed without banns or license in their parish church upon the fact that the precinct was a peculiar, and it was in 1644, simultaneously with the parish of St. James, Duke's Place, that they made a beginning.

Up to June 9 in that year there had been fifteen weddings in the church (and this was rather above the average), but between that date and the end of the year there were 115, in 1645 there were 249, in 1646 there were 349, in 1647, 368, and in 1648, 348.

From this time until March 26, 1676, the greater part of the registers has disappeared. Portions, however, remain, which show a gradual and steady increase in the number of these marriages, the additional opportunities for such secret modes of tying the matrimonial knot apparently increasing the demand. In 1658 there were 342 weddings after February 17, and 253 in 1659 before July 25. In 1660 there were 334 after April 30. For 1661 and 1662 the registers are complete; in the former year there were 532, and in the latter

397. By 1676 (after which there is no further break in the registers) the numbers had risen considerably. From March 26 to the end of that year there were 759 weddings ; in the next year there were 968.

Among the State Papers of 1641 is a warrant issued, from Windsor, for a commission 'to Humphrey, Bishop of London, to visit Trinity Chapel in the Minories, a Royal Peculiar, to correct any abuses that may have arisen in the said chapel or its vicinity.' Nothing seemingly resulted from this commission at the time, and all went smoothly till 1687, when a determined effort was evidently made to put a stop to these marriages ; the Reverend Adam Elliot, rector of St. James's, Duke's Place, was suspended, and the incumbent of Holy Trinity Minories, evidently deemed it advisable temporarily to suspend operations, for in that year there were only two weddings in January, four in July, and three in March, and all are stated to have been by license.

But this temporary submission to the powers that be was brief, for in April the old practices were resumed, without, apparently, any further interruption for some years. It is not impossible that the successful vindication of their civil rights at this time materially assisted the parishioners in their defiance of the bishop. After this the number of weddings steadily increased from year to year till 1691, when 1,000 weddings were solemnised. The next year the numbers reached 1,060, but then they gradually fell off ; in 1693 there were 946 ; in 1694, 777. There is evidence, however, that in the meantime the bishop[1] did not feel satisfied at allowing matters to go on as they were, as may be gathered from the following entries in the churchwardens' accounts for 1689 :—

> Nov^r 5. Expenses of a meeting of the parish upon the citation to Doctor's Comons about the weddings £0 4s. 0d.
>
> Nov^r 6. Fees at Doctor's Comons at carrying my answer to the Bishop's articles £0 5s. 0d.
>
> Nov^r 9. proctors fees for delivering do. £0 3s. 4d.

But these proceedings had no results. The next year, however, the parish was greatly alarmed by the prospect of a new and real danger, for, as in 1641, the aid of the civil authorities had been again invoked, and on January 5 a warrant was issued for a commission to William Payne, D.D., one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary, to visit all churches and chapels which were indisputably of royal or exempt jurisdiction within the City of London or twenty miles of the same, and where the episcopal authority had no pretence or claim, or where such claim was disputed, as particularly in the parish churches and chapels of St. James, Duke's Place, and Trinity in the Minories, in which exempt churches and chapels (it was stated) divers clandestine marriages were celebrated, and other crimes and illegal practices daily committed. He was likewise to inquire into unlawful marriages thus celebrated, and to punish the offenders by ecclesiastical censures, and to grant licenses of marriage in these churches or chapels to seamen and others, as was used in other places, and to appoint a registrar or notary, and to use a seal, and what else might be necessary for such visitation. Following upon this a Bill was brought into the House of Commons for suppressing altogether private and clandestine marriages. The introduction of this measure created quite a ferment in this little community; it could not, of course, be allowed to pass into law, but must be opposed at all costs.

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[1] Henry Compton.

At a Vestry holden in the Parish Church of the Trinity Minories in the County of Midd^{x} this ffirst Day of December Anno Dmi 1690 It was then Ordered and agreed uppon That Whereas there is a bill promoted in the House of Comons for suppressing private and clandestine marriages, which if the same pass into an Act will be much to the losse and prejudice of the Inhabitants and also of the Poor of this parish Wherefore for and towards the charge of preventing of the said Bills' passing Wee are agreed And do hereby promise to pay and beare our Equall and proportonable part of the charges which shall be expended in defending the same according to the part as Wee or any other person doe or shall receive out of the Weddings for the Poore Each Wedding being rated at Four shillings Witness our hands the day and yeare above written

STEPHEN HEATH, Curate.
&c. &c. &c.

Two years later the parishioners again recorded their determination to resist interference, from whatever quarter it might come.

Att a Vestry holden in the parish Church of the Trinity Minories in Middex this Third Day of May Anno Dni 1692 It was agreed uppon by us whose names are hereunder written on the behalfe of the parish That wee will beare and pay an equall proportion of the charges for the security of our Priviledge in Weddings against all opposers whatsoever according to what is or shall be expended about the same Each wedding (being rated four shillings) To be paid or allowed by the Churchwardens. Witness our hands &c

We read under date October 13 of the same year :—

	£	s.	d.
4 Summonses ffrom ye Bishop of London .	0	4	0
pd at ye Bishop's office	0	6	8
Expended at the same time	0	2	6

In 1694, the advent of a new incumbent, the Rev. John King, was made the occasion for the renewal by the parishioners of their mutual bond to maintain their privileges intact.

At a Vestry held at the pish Church of Trinity Minoryes this 21st of March 169¾ [it was] then agreed by us whose names are underwritten in behalf of the said pish, that we will bare and pay in equall proportion of all charges ffor the security of our priviledge in Marriges against all opposers whatsoever.

At the same time the following agreement was entered into with the incumbent :—

That Mr Jno. King Minister of the said pish doth ffrely consent and agre ffor & towards the better Support and Maintenance of the poor of the said pish and for the better incorridgment of the clerk in the diligent performance of his duty to allow the sum of thre shillings out of every wedding he receves.

Now it is hereby designed that no wedding dues shall be demed[1] or taken under five shillings even of the poorest sort, unless in such cases as Mr Jno King in his prudence shall think fit wittness my hand the day and year above written.

JOHN KING.

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[1] Demanded.

On April 26 following an agreement was entered into with the parish clerk, that he was to have 'out of every wedding Consummated in the Foresaid Parish Church the sum of one Shilling and six pence.'

During the next year the inhabitants were troubled, not only by the possibility of losing altogether their privilege of private marriages, but also by the actual falling off in the numbers of those who came there to be married; probably they were now being successfully outbid by the numerous 'hedge priests' of the Fleet. Under these circumstances, they deemed it advisable to appoint a committee to look after their interests in these matters, and to act on their behalf as they might think best.

Att a Vestry holden in the Trinity Minories on June 28th 1694. The Parishioners doe agree that from time to time whatsoever shall be judged proper to be done or transacted in behalfe of the private Weddings in the Church of the Minories & to whatsoever expence or charge the Minister Mr King, and on the Parish Behalfe Sr William Prichard Mr Hall or Mr Shepherd, or any one of them shall concur privately with Mr King in supporting the Interest of the private Weddings.[1] (In consideration of wich aiding and assisting Mr King makes the Allowance out of the Weddings) That what they shall agree and consent or any single one in conjunction with Mr King in Laying out of any sum or sums of money shall be equally as binding as if there were a full and Compleat Vestry to all Intents and purposes and doe empower the said Mr King with any one of those persons above named to act seperate, and exclusive of any Vestry in all cases in relation to any weddings Certificates of and Privilidges concerning Weddings

Wetness our hands

&c &c

This committee appears to have held several meetings, for there are numerous entries in the accounts of what was spent on each occasion. As a result of their deliberations, an agreement was drawn up, and on October 30 of the same year it was confirmed by the full vestry in the following words:—

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[1] This statement is curious and wholly inconsistent with the history of the appropriation of fees by the parishioners; it looks as if Dr. King had succeeded in inducing the parishioners to acknowledge that they had no *right* to any portion of the marriage fees, but that the sums which they received out of these were his gifts.

> Wee whose names are underwritten In consideration that wee conceive itt for the advantage and Interest of the Parish to have the number of Weddings encreased and for other good reasons us thereunto moving
>
> Doe Entreate Mr King during his Encumbency and Ministry to accept of all offerings and Guifts for the performance of the office of Matrimony by him Tho: of a meaner value than ordinary and Whereas he hath promised to allow the sum of three shillings outt of every Wedding he receives for, our desire is by these presents shall always bring forward out of any two either five or six shillings weddings he receives for Mr King shall make that allowance out of two such Weddings before named the sum of three shillings only both to the Parish poor and the Clarke our Intention and design is that to such Weddings under six shillings and six pence shall be allowed accounted and Reckoned with Mr King as one single Wedding only and this wee appoint for Mr King Sufficient discharge for soe doing wch wee doe desire may take place from his last taking accounts with the Church Wardens and Clarke.[1]

The purpose of this agreement was to attract a class of persons who, wishing to be married clandestinely, desired also that their object might be attained at as little cost as possible, and whose requirements were readily provided for at the Fleet.

But the work of the committee was not confined to devising the best mode of increasing the number of marriages; they had also to deal with the old vexed question of the continuance of these weddings in the face of episcopal objections, and though there is no direct statement on the subject, it would seem that a settlement, in the nature of a compromise, was at length arrived at between the bishop and this committee, for after May 2, 1695, all the weddings for three years are stated to have been either by license or by banns.

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[1] The ordinary fees, according to the table then in use, were 2*s.* 4*d.* for the parishioners, for a time at all events, raised afterwards by agreement with the minister, to 3*s.*, and 5*s.* 8*d.* for the minister, and 1*s.* 9*d.* for the clerk. In the accounts for 1691, the churchwardens state they received 100*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, but as in that year there were 1,070 weddings, they either did not receive the stipulated amount, or it did not all appear in the year's accounts. The incumbent's income from the weddings must, in the best years, have reached something like 300*l.*, a sum not to be despised in those days. Following several entries in May 1695 is the statement that 'His Majtys duty is received' or 'paid.' This has reference to a tax, levied by William III in 1694, on entries in registers, which resulted in many places in the registers being, for the most part, left blank; after five years this most injudicious tax was removed.

After this these notifications are only occasional, but there is no reason, therefore, to suppose that any more marriages were performed without banns, or license, and it may be fairly assumed that there was no return to the old system. If otherwise, it must have been to a very limited extent, for the number of weddings steadily decreased. In 1695 there were 477, and in the years immediately following there were respectively 389, 351, 328, 256, 191, 152, 129, 131, 109. From this they fell to an average of about 24, and when, in 1754, Lord Hardwicke's Act was passed, abolishing altogether clandestine marriages, the average further fell to about 10. That the numbers kept up as they did may be accounted for by the supposition that, when the compromise was effected, the bishop allowed the incumbent, Dr. King (who, by the way, about the same time accepted a license for himself), to issue marriage licenses on more than ordinarily favourable terms. This is certainly borne out by the fact that, for the two years following 1710, some marriages are stated to have been 'by bans,' some by 'Doctor's License' and by 'license brought'; the 'license brought' being most probably a license issuing from the office of the bishop's registry; the 'Doctor's License,' which largely preponderated, being issued by the incumbent, Dr. King.

In this way the incumbent and the parishioners were, in some degree, compensated for the inevitable loss they would sustain by consenting to the renunciation of the system of absolute freedom in uniting any couples who presented themselves on the easiest possible terms; but the system itself, as far as the Minories was concerned, had thereby received its deathblow. The parishioners in general were not slow to discover that this was so; and they were consequently most dissatisfied with what their committee had done, and very soon they vented their displeasure in the following ineffective resolution; ineffective, as the bubble had been burst:—

At a publick vestry held in ye prish Church of Trinity Minories this 10th day of May 1695: wee the Churchwardens & other

Inhabitants of ye s^d^ pariss whose hands are hereunto subscribed doe unanimously consent and agree that an order of Vestry made ye 28 day of June 1694 empowering S^r^ W^m^ Pritchard M^r^ Joshua Shepherd and M^r^ Samuel Hall to act exclusive and separate of any Vestry in relating to weddings with ye minister M^r^ King be void and of noe power nor effect notwithstanding any order or orders of any former Vestrys to the Contrary: & wee doe further agree that nothing of publick business of ye pariss be done but according to antient and Customary ways of publick vestry summoned by the Churchwardens as witness, &c.

There are but two more references to this subject in the parish books, which speak for themselves.

Aug^t 21 1753, p^d for two Acts of parliament concerning Mariges 0. 2. 0.

At a Vestry April 8 1760. John Akerman ye parish Clerk made his humble Application to this Vestry for an Increase of his Salary from £8 to £10 a year on account of his loss in his Office since ye passing of the Act of parliament relating to marriages.

His application was unanimously granted.

In consequence of the loss of so considerable a portion of the registers of the clandestine marriages, it is impossible to state with certainty how many weddings took place in this irregular way, but, by taking an average from the number of entries during the periods to which the existing registers refer, there must have been about 32,000 marriages between June 9, 1644, and May 2, 1695.

As a rule the names of the officiating clergy are not given; there are, however, a few exceptions, the most remarkable being that of Mr. Weston, who in a period of less than eight years (1679–1686) celebrated 5,600 weddings.

In the registers of these clandestine marriages it is but very rarely that any note or comment has been recorded beyond the entries of the names. Occasionally, however, the clerk has thought it necessary to add some little remark; on one occasion this official was in difficulties from being unable to recall the bride's name, and so made the following entry:—'July 19 1688. Peter poots a solger was married ye same day but ye paper that his and her name was tok on was lost.'

Then on July 3, 1690, is written in the following significant warning to all future clerks, 'take Care of this name of John flight have been A pearson to teare it out.'

On November 15, 1690, we find a statement, 'Len them 3^{d}—6^{d} out of my Pocket not yet Paid.'

Another clerk thought it necessary to call special attention to the marriage of an old man of eighty-seven :

> Jany 11 1751 Thos: Hawtree W^{r} to Anne Davis W^{ow} the man was 87 years & the woman 77 this man was married June the 5 in the year 1693 Before which is 58 years ago.

Thus, from the almost entire absence of any notes, such as are to be found in the records of clandestine marriages elsewhere, commenting upon the peculiar nature of some of the weddings celebrated, we may fairly assume that, on the whole, the clandestine marriages of the Minories were conducted with more propriety, and caused less scandal than many of those performed at other still more popular places of resort.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CHURCH

The church of the Abbey becomes the parish church of the Holy Trinity—Its internal reconstruction, and demolition of the monuments (1568)—The restoration accounts—Subsequent alterations—Rebuilding and refitting the church in 1705–6—Repairs—Church furniture—The organ—Services—Monuments, tablets, and gravestones

There can be no doubt whatever that when the precinct of the Minories was constituted a parish, the Church of the dissolved Abbey became the Parish Church, and was henceforth designated the Church of Saint Trinity, or Holy Trinity in the Minories.

The accounts of 1566 and the following years give ample proof that, soon after the parishioners came into possession of the building, they set about, not only to renovate it, but to make very considerable alterations. It is probable that it was at this time that all the ancient monuments were removed, a gallery was erected, a new pulpit was set up, pews were constructed, and a steeple was built.

Possibly these renovators considered that the limited accommodation that the church afforded for the growing population, sufficient as it had been for the community of sisters and for the household of the bishops, justified them in providing additional space by the ruthless destruction of the ancient and historic monuments that the church contained. It may be, too, that in their reforming eyes these relics of a past, which had gone for ever, had little or no value.

In 1574 a new house was built in the churchyard, and upon the church wall for the use of the church, but for what purpose it was so used is not manifest.

The accounts for some years contain every item of expenditure, even to a few pennyworths of nails, and the daily wages to individual labourers; they commence with a statement for old materials sold.

Recets for sarten things
that was solde out of ye chyrche
Re^{d} of m^{r} barnet for chake solde to hym the xth day of november xxii^{d}
Re^{d} of wyllm̄ symonds the xxi day of november for a lode of stones xviii^{d}
R^{d} the xxixth of m^{r} bloke for free stone xx^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} bean the xvi day of Decēb^{r} for a grave stone v^{s}
R^{d} of water scote for ii lode of hard stone iii^{s} iiii^{d}
R^{d} the sam day of edmond goddart for ii formes ii^{s} viii^{d}
R^{d} of m^{r} blooke the sam day for three peaces of grave stone
R^{d} the sam day of water mallyson ffor a planke the pryce ii^{s}
Item re^{d} of m^{r} beane ye viii daye of Janāry for all the olde peaces of bordes and other stuff viii^{s} iiii^{d}
Re^{d} for a lytyll peace of tymbr & ii planks v^{s} iiii^{d}

The account of the payments for the work done commences on St. Thomas day, 1566.

Imp^{r}m^{is} p^{d} to a bryclayer for paving in the chyrche & quyer	xvi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for ii lode of lyme	ii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} for sand	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for 1^{c} & fyftye bryckes	xv^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John Joyner the xxiii day for ii dais worke	xx^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to edmond goddart for ii dais worke at xii the day	ii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to edmond goddart for iii ϕ of v peny nayles	xv^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to hym for ii ϕ of lathe nayles	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for doble x^{d} nayles	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a payre of henge for goodwyffe chapmans pywe	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for lathe & lome to make up the syde of the closet	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for waynscote to make the dore for m^{rs} yonge & m^{rs} more pywe	viii^{d}
p^{d} for a payre of Joynts for ye sam dore	v^{d}
Itm̄ for a mate for the hyeste seat of the northe syde of ye quyer	vi^{d}

In the sam seat a mate of bull ryshes to lene upon	vii^{d}
Itm̄ in the sacond seat on the sam syde in the quyer a great mate under fyet & one to set upon	ix^{d}
In m^{rs} sydlyes pewe a mat to knell upon	v^{d}
In m^{rs} marke antonys pywe a mate to lene upon	iii^{d}
In m^{rs} hydes pywe one mate under feet	v^{d}
In m^{rs} skymers & m^{rs} allens pywe one mate under feet & one to seet upon	vii^{d}
In goodwyffe goddards & goodwyffe bryckynshawes pywe one mat under feet & one to set upon	vii^{d}
In the seet on the sought syde of the quyear a mate to lean upon	iiii^{d}
In M^{rs} benes pywe ii mats	vi^{d}
In m^{rs} blooks pywe ii mats	xii^{d}
In m^{rs} moore & m^{rs} yonge pywe a half mate & a mat of bull ryshes	iiii^{d}
In goodwyffe chapmans pywe iii mats	xi^{d}
In m^{rs} ornoldes pywe one mate	iii^{d}
In the s|vants pywe a mate	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for carringe rubbyshe out of the chyrche to wyllm̄ baker	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a bundell of ryshes the xii day of July for to strawe the chyrche	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a bundell of ryshes feet by alce moore the lastle day of July	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a nother burden of ryshes feet by alce moore the xvii of August	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the xxi day of september for a burden of ryshes	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John moore for settinge of a wanscot the xxx day of october	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the xxxi day for turninge of vii pyllers for the pulpet	iii^{d} ob
Itm̄ p^{d} for nayles to set up the pulpet	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for morter to make up the walls of the pulpet	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a burden of ryshes then	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John moore the sam day for carringe all the rubbyshe out of the chyrche & helpinge to set up ye pulpet	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to the Joyners the sam day upon a recinnge	xvi^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman the iii day ffor caringe of a tyb̄re to ye sawpyte	viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to laborers for helpinge to lode ye sam	iii^{d}

Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day to the Joyners for ii hings for the pulpet & nells for ye sam	x^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a claspe for the pulpet	i^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the vi day of november for the pulpet	vii^{s} vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to water & garet for ii dais worke	ii^{s} ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day to a poore ffellow ffor carring rubyshe out of ye chyrche	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the viith day to a labouringe man ffor carringe of rubbishe out of ye chyrche	viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to m^{r} allen the viith day of nov̄ebr ffor a peace of tymbr	xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for ii lode of lyme ye sam day	ii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} for half a syngle lode of sande	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for vi^{d} & x^{d} naylls	ii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to watter mallyson & garet when the begone ther worke a pon a reckininge	xx^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} edmond goddar for his work the ix day of novembr	xiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to george moores wyffe for v days worke after vi^{d} ob the day	ii^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John moore for vii dais worke after viii^{d} the day	iiii^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John moore wyffe for iiii days & a half after v the day	xxii^{d} ob
Itm̄ p^{d} to mother Joan for iii dais worke after vi^{d} the day	xviii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to water mallyson for vii dais and a half after xiii^{d} the day	viii^{s} i^{d} ob
Itm̄ p^{d} to Edmonde goddart for vii dais and a half after xiii^{d} the day	viii^{s} i^{d} ob
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman for bryginge of a peace of tymbar from sawinge	viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for duble x^{d} & single x^{d} naylls	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a ł of candells for ye chyrche	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to goddarts wydow for iiii dais at vi^{d} ob a day	ii^{s} ii^{d} ob
Itm̄ p^{d} to father bonnes for iii dais at vi^{d} ob the day	xix^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for xv waynscote the xth day of november vi of thym at ii^{s} iiii^{d} a peace & ix of them at xvii^{d} a pyace	xvi^{s} vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for xxx clapbordes	iiii^{s} iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman for bringing home of the sam waynscote	v^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman for caringe of the sam waynscote to sawinge	vi^{d}

Itm̄ p^{d} to John moore for ii dais worke at viii^{d} the day ye xth dai of novēber	xvi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for doble x^{d} naills the xvii dai of novēbr	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for iii large wanscots the xviii day of novembr at ii^{s} iiii^{d} a peace	vii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for xl clopbords at ii^{d} the peace	vi^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman for brynginge home of the sam clope bordes	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John moor the xxx day of november for half a dais worke	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to Edmond goddart for half a dais worke	vi^{d}
Itm̄ bought the sam day vi doble quarters at vi^{d} the peace	iii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a lode of lyme to mend the walles of the chyrche	xii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John marchant the xxi day of novembr for sawinge waynscote	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the xxvi day of novembr for a thowsand of vi^{d} naylls	xxii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the xxviii day for ii lode of lyme to washe the walles of ye chyrche	ii
Itm̄ p^{d} for naylls the xxixth day	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for ii waynscote the sam day at ii^{s} iiii^{d} a peace	iiii^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more for iiii longe clapbordes	xvi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more to the Joyners the sam day upon a reckn̄ing	xx^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} more for lathes	v^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for turninge of xx pillars	ii^{s} i^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for doble xx^{d} naylls the xxi day	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for v deall bordes to borde the wemens pywes in the bottoms	v^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} for ii lode of lyme ye ii day of decēbr	ii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} for doble x^{d} naylls the iii day	i^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for glew for the Joyners	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more the sam day to m^{r} pellams sawyers for sawynge of tymber for the chyrche	xvi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John moore on a rekninge in the chyrche	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman for caringe of the waynscote & clopbordes	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to rycharde bowland the sam day for ix waynscots at ii^{s} iiii^{d} the peace & one at xvi^{d}	xxii^{s} iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more the sam day for a q^{ter} of clapbordes beinge at iiii^{d} a peace	x^{s}

Itm̄ p^{d} more the sam day for xv smal clapbordes after ii^{d} the peace	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a lode of lyme	xii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a ϕ of iii^{d} naylls	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for half a Є of vi^{d} naylles	xxii^{d}
Itm̄ the xth day p^{d} to m^{r} hygham upon a reckninge	xxx^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} the viii day of decembr for half a ϕ of lyme for ye pavinge of ye quyer	iiii^{s} iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for iiii hondrethe of pavinge tyle to pave the quyear at iiii^{s} a hondrethe	xvi^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day to a carman ffor carringe of the sam tyle	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for iii^{d} nayles	i^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a lode of sand to pave in the chansell	xii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for ii ϕ of iiii^{1} nayles to nayll the bordes of the wemens pewes	viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a lode of lyme that was lakinge to pave the quyear	xii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for quarters to make Jeses under the pywes at iii^{d} the pease	ii^{s} iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to nelson for a day & a half at xiiii^{d} the day	xxi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the xth day for half a thosand of iiii^{d} nayles for the pywes	xv^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more to John moore the xiith day on a reckninge	xviii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for xii sakes of lyme ye sam day	xxii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for half a ϕ of vi^{d} naylls to nell the seets in ye pywes	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a doble lode of sande towardes the pavinge of the chyrche	xii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to cobman the turnor the xiiii day of Decemb^{r} on a reckning	iii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John marchant for sawing of waynscote on a reckninge	v^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a doble lode of lome	xii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to frances the Joyner the sam day upon a reckning for seelinge In the quyear	v^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to rychard bowland the xvi day of decembr for viii waynscots vi of them at ii^{s} iiii^{d} ye peace & ii at xviii^{d} a peace	xvii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for xxi large clapbordes at iiii^{d} a peace	x^{s} iiii^{d}

Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman for setinge of the sam waynscot & clapbordes	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for half a Ꞓ of vi^{d} nays the xviii day for the wemens pywes & for the steres of the pulpet	xxii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman the sam day for ffettinge tylles from ye tower	viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to m^{r} bowland the sam day for v deall bordes to make the seets in the pywes & borde out the reste of the pywes under nethe at xii^{d} ye peace	v^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to hym for one waynscote more the sam day	xviii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for ii single q^{ters} for the steres of the pulpit	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to watter mollyson and garret the Joiners upon a reckning	xx^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for xvi payre of hynge the xxi day of decembr for the pywe dores of ye quyear after iiii^{s} iiii^{d} a dossen	v^{s} ix^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for naylls to set on the sam hinge	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for xxii fote of ellme bordes to make the steres of the pulpet after vi^{d} a ϕ	xvi^{d} ob
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day to edmonde goddart for a dore for ye chyrche yarde	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a loke & a key for the same dore	ix^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman the sam day ffor a lode of rubbyshe caryage	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} this xxiith day of decembr for ii ϕ of pavinge tyle to pave in the upar part of the chyrche next to the quyear	viii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a carman for bryging home of the sam tyle	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for iii ϕ of ii^{d} nayls ffor the pywes	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a ł of candels for the paviors to pave in the chyrche	ii^{d} ob
Itm̄ p^{d} more for iii lode of lyme ffor the paving in the chyrche	iii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John more the sam day upon a reckninge for laboringe in the chyrche	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the xxiii day for a ϕ of pavīg tyle for the chyrche	iiii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} for the caryage of the sam tyle	v^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for iii ϕ of pavinge tyle the sam day in the afternōne	xii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} for the caringe of the sam tyle	v^{d}

Itm̄ p^{d} for iiii lode of lyme more for the pavinge in the chyrche	iiii^{s}
Itm̄ moore the sam day a doble lode of sande for same pavinge	xii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for xxii fote of old bordes to make iiii leninge bordes in the pywes after vi^{s} a ϕ	xiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for ii syngle q^{ters} the sam day ffor the pewes at iii^{d} ye pease	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for v longe clapbordes that was lacking	xx^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for i ł of candells	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to father skynner the xxiiii day of december for the irōne that was lackinge that leeds upe the pulpet wayng xvii ł at iiii^{d} a ł	v^{s} viii
Itm̄ p^{d} to the turner for a Dossen & ix great pyllers at xiiii a Dossen & for vi Dossen & iiii small pillers after x^{d} the Dossen	vii^{s} iiii^{d} ob
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for iii lode and ii sakes of lyme	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a doble lode of sand	xii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for xxi fote of bordes to set the pillars in the side of the chyrche after vi^{s} a hondrethe	xvi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a ł of candells the sam day for the Joyners to set up the tornte pillers	ii^{d} —
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a q^{ter} of a thousand of vi^{d} neyles	xi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for ii^{d} naylls	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to edmonde goddart for iii dais worke to sarve the paviors beginninge the xxi of decēbr at xiii^{d} day	iii^{s} iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more to watter malyson and garret the Joyners upon χρnmasse day upon a reckinge	l^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} more to frances the Joyner the sam day upon a reckninge ffor sellinge in the up p|te of ye quyer	iii^{s} vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to other sawyers of waynscote the sam day	ix^{s} ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to norfolke & his man ffor ther worke for pavinge of the chyrche for one day	xxii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to pryse man the sam day for pavinge in the chyrche ffor half a dais worke	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more to m^{r} nelson the sam day for ii dais and a half for paūīge	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more to rychard traffon ffor ii dais and D̃c for pavinge in the chyrche at xii^{d} the day	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a laborer for ii dais woorke to sarve the paviors at x^{d} the day	xx^{d}

Itm̄ p^{d} more to John Marchant ffor all his hole sarvinge	xviii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more the sam day to father lownes for a day & a half to carye rubbyshe to rese the gronde in the chyrche at vi^{d} ye day	ix^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} more to goddarts wedowe ffor a day & a half to cary rubbyshe at vi^{d} the day	ix^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to lowndes mayde ffor one day to cary rubbyshe	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to alce more for a day & a half to carrye rubbyshe	viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John Moore for viii dais and a half being at sundry tymes from the xviii day of nōvēbr to the xxvi day of decembar at viii^{d} the day	v^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to edmonde goddart for xv dais worke endinge the xvi day of Decembr at xiii^{d} a day	xvi^{s} iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to edmond goddart for iii lodes of waynscot the iii day of January to sele over the wemens piwes & to make crests for turnt pillers	xix
Itm̄ p^{d} for half a ϕ of ii^{d} naylls to nelle the crests	i^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for half a ϕ of iiii naylls	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to edmond goddart the sam day for a nother leve of waynscote to make pertycion betwext the quyear & chyrche at the top	v^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the vth day of January for ii syngle q^{ters} to make the fram ffor the dore that goes into m^{r} pellams place	vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for one clape borde to make the turnte pillers at the tope of the dore	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the sam day for a ϕ of ii^{d} naylls to nell the crests & the sylinge of the pulpet	ii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a smythe the vii day of January for a locke & ii keys ffor the dore that goes in to m^{r} pellams place	xxi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for a stapple for the sam dore	iii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to water mallyson & garret Joyners the viii day of January in full payment of v^{s} w^{ch} was ther bargyn & cōvēnēt for making of pywes in the quyear & body of the chyrche	x^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to warter malyson & garet ffor all ye small creasts & other works wch was leaft undone & not in ther bargyn	xv^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to John moore for iii dais & a half workinge in the chyrche at viii the day	ii^{s} iiii^{d}

Itm̃ pd the sam day for sawinge of a waynscote for to make creasts roũnde a boute the quyear	vd
Itm̃ pd to Alce skyñer the xth day of January for a longe small irone to stay up the hed of the pulpet	vid
Itm̃ pd the sam day for a plate of irone for the loke of the dore that goes to mr pellam	iid
Itm̃ pd to goodman arnolde for v lytyll baskets to cary rubbyshe out of the chyrche	xd

In order to meet the expenses incurred, a voluntary collection was made among the parishioners, the results of which are thus recorded :—

The sessement geven by the inhabytãts of every mañs goodwyll towardes the repairinge of ye chirche in ano 1567 as ffolowt

Imprmis of thamas beane	xls
Itm̃ of John hides	xls
Itm̃ of mr marckantony	xxxs
Itm̃ of John blooke	xxxs
Itm̃ of mr pargerter	xxs
Itm̃ of mr coffin	xxs
Itm̃ of mr picke & of wyllm̃ chapman	xxs
Itm̃ of wyllm̃ yonge	xvs
Itm̃ of rychard moore	xs
Itm̃ of mr percevell	xs
Itm̃ of mr martyn	xs
Itm̃ of rycharde powle	vis viiid
Itm̃ of edmond goddart	vs
Itm̃ of andrian melian	iis vid
Itm̃ of peter la mote	iis
Itm̃ of John cornewe	iis
Itm̃ of John demeure	xviiid
Itm̃ of maddeson	

After January 10, 1568, little more was done during that year in the way of restoration, the only items of church expenditure being

Itm̃ pd ffor a lode of lyme the xxixth of May to white the walls of the Chyrche	xiid
Itm̃ pd ffor pavinge of a grave & whytinge of the wall & ii pavĩg tylle that was lackinge	xiid
Itm̃ pd the xiith day of July ffor a bundell of ryshes the sam day yt mr rawlins was maryede	iiiid
Itm̃ ffor strawinge yerbes ye sam day	iiid

Itm̄ p^{d} to the sexten the xviith of septẽbr for makinge clean of ye chyrche	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} to m^{r} haynes the xxviith day of octobr ffor a booke of omelyes for the chyrche	iii^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the xvth day of decembr for vii ells of lynnen clothe to make a surples at xviii^{d} th'ell	ix^{s} vi^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} for pullinge downe of the lofte wch was over twarte the Chyrche by m^{r} bloake	iii^{s}
Itm̄ p^{d} to a glashair ye xxth day of novẽmbr for newe glasse ffor ye Chyrche & mendinge of ye old glasse	xxxv^{s} viii^{d}

In 1569 a few further alterations were made, and certain repairs were executed :—

Itm̄ p^{d} the xx daye of January for making of a cheste in the churche	v^{s}
payd for iii lockes for the same cheste	iii
Itm̄ payed for ii hoopes of yeiorn for the longe pewe	ii^{d}
payed for a small bar of yeiorn	ii^{d}
payed to the glaysher for setting up the glase	vi^{d}
payed the xxiii daye of Januarye to loones for a lattes	vi^{d}
payde for timbear that made the gallorie	iii^{l} x^{s}
payd for the caryige of iii lode of timber	ii^{s}
payd for a nancker of yeiorn to hould the timber too the wall	ii^{s} ii^{d}
payed to the Jhoyner for turnd pillers	xv^{s}
payed for deales to bourd the gallorye and to make formes	xxi^{s} viii^{d}
payed for ii huntreth of tenpennie nayles	ii^{s} ii^{d}
payed for ii hundreth of vi^{d} naylles	x^{d}
Itm̄ payd to ould father maddison for ix dayes worcke after xiiii^{d} a daye	x^{s} vi^{d}
payed to thomas anther carpender for iii dayes worcke after xiiii^{d} a daye and for a pese of timber	vi^{s}
payd to goarge welch for iiii dayes worcke at xiiii^{d} a day a carpender	iiii^{s} viii^{d}
payed to the secston and to Jhon more	xviii^{d}
Edmon godard for iiii dayes worcke after xiiii^{d} a daye	iiii^{s} viii^{d}
payed to father maddison for vi dayes worcke	vii^{s}
payed to edmond goddard for ii dayes worcke and a halfe	ii^{s} xi^{d}
Payed for elme bordes too make the steeres for the gallerie	viii^{d}
Itm̄ payed for iii double quarters and iii syngle and a pese of timber	iii^{s}

payed to Edmond godderd and to ould father madison for a afternunes worcke	xi^{d}
payed too edmond godderd for seling & witing & yuling the church	iiii^{l} ii^{s}
payed to the tiler for tiles and tiling the church	viii^{s}
payed for ii lode of lime	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
payed for ii lode of sand	x^{d}
Itm̃ lead out for timber to mend the gate	x^{d}
lead out for iii dayes & a halfe worcke of edman godderd after xiiii^{d} a daye	iiii^{s} i^{d}
payed for the ouer glase	xii^{d}
payed for the yeiorn to hang the your glas	xii^{d}
payed to the Jhoiner for making the couer of the funt	xvi^{d}
payed to a Jhoiner for pulling doune of the partysion	xii^{d}
geven for xł of yeiorn to strenght the quier dores & the pues	ii^{s} ii^{d}
Itm̃ for paper and ynck	iiii
payed for plates and candallstickes	xx^{d}
geuen the xx of october to by candles	ii^{s} vi^{d}
lead out for candels the xxi daye of disember	ii^{s} vi^{d}

In 1570 the expenditure on the church was trifling, viz.:—

payd to edmond godderd the xx daye of aprell for iii dayes worke and a half about the seates at the gate	iiii^{s} iii^{d}
geuen the same daye to the m^{r} carpenter for helping us to the planckes to make the seates	xx^{d}
geven to water madison for workmanshipe	vi^{d}
Payd for meat and drinke for the worke men	vi^{d}
Payd the same daye for nales	viii^{d}
Payd for a locke the same daye and mending the keyes of the churche	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Payed for changing the saruise boke	v^{s}
Gyve the xxiith of october to the Joyners for m̃edỹge the pulpit	iii^{d}
Item p^{d} for candles & waxe the xxvith day of november	iii

In the general summary for the two years 1569 and 1570, appears the following:

Itm̃ layed oute a boute the Repayrynge of the churche as the galarye Seelynge & candles & waxe & other necessaries	xvi^{l} xvii^{s} iiii^{d}

and among the receipts for those two years are the items :—

Reseved for too chrisis that went ower swarft the church	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
reseued for a pese of timber that went ouer swort the church w^{ch} was sould	xx^{d}

During the next two years little was spent upon the church, the only entries referring to church expenses being :—

Bought for the use of the churche ii Basons & one carpet	xxv^{s}
Layd out for tillinge the churche and pavinge of graves and other necessaries	xlvi^{s}

In 1573 they again resumed operations, the accounts for that year containing the following statements :—

Item we changed oure bible the vii of maie and we paied for the channginge of it	x^{s}
Item layed out a bowte building of the steple and pailing the churchyard and tylyng the church .	iiii^{l} xix^{s} iiii^{d}
Item paied for whiting the church and for writing the scripturs a bowte the church And for a table of the ten commanndementes to hange in the church	xxvii^{s} vi^{d}
Item paied for glasing of the church	xxxxii^{s} i^{d}
Item paied for raisinge of the churchyarde with yearth and paving the gate and raising the grownde	xxxx^{s} v^{d}

Since the voluntary 'sessement' in 1567, there had not been any special collection for the church expenses, these being met by the ordinary funds at the disposal of the churchwardens, but this year they again made an appeal for subscriptions, the result of which is thus stated :—

Receaved of the Inhabitantes beinge englishe men of theire liberalitie towarde the makinge of the steeple and mendinge the poompe and palinge the churchyarde and other necessaries to be laied oute a bowte the parishe	xxxviii^{s}

Receaved of the Inhabitantes beinge[1] straungers of theire liberalitie towarde the makinge of the steeple and mendinge the poompe and palinge the church-yarde and other necessaries to be laied oute a bowte the parishe	xxxix^s vi^d

And in addition to this, they

Receaved for a bell and for leade that was a bowte the funt	xi^s

In 1574, the items of church expenditure are as follows :—

Item paied for the building of ye new house in the church yard and upon the church wale, for the use of the churche	xxxi^l v^s v^d
Item payed this yeare for to mates & for earbes and rishes for the church	v^s
Item payed this yeare for a carppet &[2] to chowshen for the church	v^s
Item payed the same yeare for whitting the churche yarde & for writtinge ye scripter in it and for writting vi tabells in the church and for the Queenes nam and for a rose	xxii^s iiii^d
Item payed the same yeare for pavinge of ye graves in the church	iii^s iiii^d
Item payed the same yeare for to bell ropes for the church	xiii^d

In the next year :—

Item payde for hasockes & for rishes In the yeare of our lorde god a 1.5.7.5	xiii^s x^d
Item payde for makinge of kasmente & for glaysynge of the kasmente in the church In the yeare of our lorde god a 1.5.7.5.	xxi^s
Item payde for makinge of the closit and in larginge of the gallere and for makinge of formes and other nesesary thinges longe to it In the yeare of oure lorde god a 1.5.7.5.	v^l iiii^s vi^d
Item payde for bell ropes for the churche . . .	xiii^d
Item payd for tylinge of the churche In the yeare of oure lorde god 1575	xvii^s ii^d

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[1] From this it may be inferred that, at that time, more than half the population were foreigners.

[2] Two cushions.

Item payd for writinge of vi tabell In the churche & iii in the churche yarde In the yeare of oure lorde god 1575	xiiii^{s}
Item payd for pavinge of the graves in the church In the yeare of oure lorde god a 1575 & in the yeare of oure lorde god a 1576	vi^{s}

In 1577 :—

Item we payed for mendynge of the glase windoes in the churche in the yeare of oure lorde god a 1577	v^{s} vi^{d}
Item payde for raisinge the step at the churche dore & pavinge before m^{r} haines doore in the yeare of oure lorde god a 1577	iiii^{s} ii^{d}
Item payd for the pavinge of the graves in the yeare of oure lorde gode 1577 and in the yeare of oure lorde god . 1578	

In 1579 :—

Item payde for mendinge of glase windowes in the church	iii^{s} vi^{d}
Item for candeles for the churche	xiiii^{d}
Item for a bell rope	viii^{d}

In 1580 :—

Item ffor pavinge of graves this 1580——	
and ffor the mendynge of ye communyon tabell and the mendyng of the nether most pue & ye cover of ye font and m^{rs} pages pue Doure wth a henge and ye sete wth henges before m^{r} heyse	xvi^{s}
Item for tylynge of ye churche wher nedded Requyer wth tyelles and lathes & gret nelles and small nelles and Lyme and sand and worcke menes labor.	xxxv^{s} v^{d}
Item payed for ye mendinge of ye glase of ye quyer and in sur Wyllyame pelames set above ye 12 of november a 1580	iv^{s} x^{d}
Item iii ł of candell 9^{d} and A bell Rope 9^{d}	

In 1581 :—

Item paid for repairing of the churche & candels & other nesesarye things in the parishe	xix^{s} vi^{d}

In 1584 :—

Payed more in and aboute the minoryes church as by the partyculars more at large may appeare	v^{s} vi^{d}

In 1585 :—

Item for a bell roope & mending the grate	xii^d
Item for candells	x^s x^d ob
Item for glasinge windowes	xxvi^s ii^d

In 1586 :—

Item paid for making of the . . . . at the gat. And mending of the grats at the gatt & mending of the formes in the churche And mending of the washing stole and for timber & bords & Iorn worke & carpenter's waigs	xviii^s iii^d
Item paid for iii dossen of candles & viii ł	xvii^s vi^d
Item paid for pavynge of the churche	x^s iiii^d
Item paid for mending of the glasse wynndows in the churche	iii^s i^d
Item paid for ii basketts and one paile for to carry owte Robbydge	x^d
Item paid for ii bell ropes	i^s ii^d

For some years after this date, there are few details of payments entered in the accounts, and the only references to church expenses until 1689 are the two following :—

In 1596 :—

Paide for the chardge of makinge the new pew in the Churche where the Churchwardens and the Collectors are appointed to sitt in	xv^s iiii^d

And in 1665 :—

7 ,, 04 ,, 0 for repair of ye Church

There is, however, a memorandum, dated 1620, from which we learn that two additional seats had been added to the church, for the accommodation of non-parishioners. It runs as follows :—

1620

At a vestry houlden this day The two new seats already . . . . by John Mulys Churchwarden is well allowed of. In one of w^{ch} namely the longe new seats at the lower end of the Church the said Churchwarden hath placed Strangers for diu͛se valuable consideracōns duringe such tyme as eu͛y one of themselves for themselves shall think fitt to resort hither & to use the same Seats. And even soe wee the vestry men of this pish p͛sently Assembled do allow & ratify by these p̃nts unto ye said p sons already seated and unto such as shalbe by the Churchwarden or succeedinge Churchwardens hereafter seated therein the said Seat or Seats privilidges & comodytyes thereof as already they have enjoyed therein since the time of theire first sittinge there. All w^{ch} theire names already seated, & hereafter to be seated there, wth theere seũall sũms soe contributed the Churchwardens aforesaid shall & will bringe in uppon his Accompt at Easter next that the p ticulers may be annexed hereunto:

And on the next page appears the following:—

The names of the Strangers . . . . in the 2 longe seats at the . . . . of the Church & theire severall summs contributed towards ye making thereof appeareth in the Accompt by me dd . . . . vd to the Vestry at Easter 1621

John Mulys

Newcourt in his Repertorium states that

in the year 1618, 1620, and 1628 this Church and Steeple were repaired and beautified.

After 1687 we are again in full possession of the details of all expenditure, and we find accordingly, in 1689, an account of church repairs, including 'glazing,' bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters' work, etc., amounting to £49 13*s.* 4*d.*

In 1690:

P^{d} for a Lock & 3 keys for the Churchwardens pew .	2^{s} ,, 4^{d}
Jan^{ry} 23. 169$\frac{6}{7}$ pd ye Bricklayers Bill for worke done in ye Church	£2 . 16 . 9.
May 1. 1701. pd M^{r} West for Bricklayers work done to the Church	£9 . 5 . 0.
for carpenters work done to the Parish house & Church	£9 . 14 . 9.

In 1703 new tables of the Commandments were set up, upon which the following sums were spent:—

Sep. 14. Spent att a meeting about ye Commandments att M^{r} Greens	£0 . 5 . 6.
Nov. 10. Paid M^{r} Bennett ffor ye frames off ye Commandments	£3 . 10 . 0.
Dec^{r} 6. Paid M^{r} Pell ye Painter ffor painting and writing the Commandments and ye poore box . .	£8 . 5 . 0.
Spent when the Commandments were set up . .	£0 . 4 . 6.

In 1704 a small addition was made to the gallery, under the following circumstances :—

> Att a Vestry holden the 25th Day of September 1704 in the Parish Church of Trinity Minories at the request of Capt Wm Bonds of White Chapel Parish That hee might have leave to Build a piew for himself & familye in the Gallery on the South Side of this Church this Parish Doth therefore accordingly Give Leave to the said Capt Bonds to Build a Piew in the place aforesaid to Continue six foot & half in front which hee shall enjoy for himself & familye only During His Continuance in the Neighbourhood of this Parish, Provided hee agree with the Minister for the same as Witness &c.

In 1705 the parishioners began to think that the church required for more extensive repair than had ever been bestowed upon it before. Up to this time no doubt, much as it had been pulled about at various times, the main features of the old monastic church must have remained tolerably intact, but, unfortunately, the idea of preserving any resemblance to the church of the historical past never occurred to the restorers of that date; what was not pulled down was so carefully buried behind plaster that no vestige of the ancient building was ever again visible until the destruction of the L. & N.-W. Railway warehouses by fire in 1904 revealed, for a brief space, what still remains (though so long hidden) of the original north wall.

The first intimation of the approaching vandalism is the entry of various sums spent at the public house.

Sep. 18, 1705. Spent upon the Parishionrs at Mr ffishers & Mr Carys upon Consulting how to apply to my Lady Prichard for repayring the Church .	£00 . 13 . 3½
Oct. 6. Spent on Wayting on Mr King for returning him thanks for his bounty to this pish &c . .	£00 . 04 . 6½
Oct. 16. Spent on the Parishionrs at the Widdow ffishers upon our addressing my Lady Prichard and returning thanks to Mr King for his Guift to the parish	£00 . 16 . 00
Oct. 20. Spent on Mr Chapman upon his taking a view of the Church and making his Estimate of the charge of the Worke	£0 . 2 . 3.

Do. Spent upon M^r Chapman (& others) upon finishing the agreem^t abt the severall prices of Worke both in the fforenoon and afternoon . . £0 . 8 . 1.

Several other entries of a similar kind follow, indicating the preliminary arrangements entered into by the churchwardens, and then, on November 6, they called a formal meeting of the vestry, and the proceedings thereat are thus recorded :

Att a Vestry held in the Parish Church of Trinity Minories the Sixth Day of November 1705 to consult measures for the repairing of the parish Church, The Parishioners do Constitute and Appoint the present Churchwardens and (6 others) of this Parish as a Committee which Committee or the Major part of them are hereby impowered to treat with the severall workmen and to take an estimate of the Charge of the same repairs, As also to consider of a propper Scheme or method for the repairs and alterations of the same Church And to make their report to the Vestry in order that they may come to a Conclusion which report shall be made by them within 10 days from the date hereof as Witness &c.

On November 12 the committee, as appointed, drew up their report :—

Wee find it necessary that the Roof of the said Church be taken downe raised and covered with a flatt ceiling That the wall of the Chancell on the Southside be taken downe and made to run flush with the wall on the Southside of the said Church to the East End of the Chancell and that the Gallery be pulled downe and a new one sett up to run the whole length on the South Side of the said Church That convenient Vaults be made to extend the breadth of the Church and as far as the Chancel That the Church be new paved and pewed and some other necessary reparations be made in the same.

Wee have also caused M^r Chapman to make out an Estimate of such repairs and alterations in the said Church Who hath given his Judgment and Opinion of the same to us which wee find will amount to the sume of 450ł and no more and we verily believie the same to be true and therefore we think it necessary that the parish doe by the most easy methods they can think of raise the sume of 250ł: over and above the sume of 200ł which they have already received of M^r King for the carrying on and finishing so pious and good a worke In Witness &c.

On December 5 another vestry meeting was held, when the report was accepted and a committee was appointed, and

> fully Authorized and Empowered to Treat and Article with the several Workmen for repaires and alterations to be made in the said parish Church according to the Scheame now delivered or such other plan as they shall think most convenient.

The minute of that vestry further states that this committee had signed a bond

> unto Daniel King of Eltham in Kent Esq. and William Greeve of Plaistow in Epsen Gent In Trust for this Parish to Indemnify them from any further Charge then the said Sūme of Two hundred and Fifty pounds necessary to be raised for completing the worke aforesd And to render to the said Daniell King and William Greeve a just account of their disbursements when required.

The parishioners, on their part, promised and obliged themselves to raise the said sum of £250 by assessment on the parish, which was to be paid over to the churchwarden by instalments, viz.: £210 on March 5, 1706; £35 September 5, 1706; £35 March 5, 1707; £35 September 5, 1707; and £35 March 5, 1708.

The progress of the work is marked by the various sums expended at the public house when anything special had taken place, as for instance:—

March 2 $170\frac{5}{6}$ Spent in going to Bow to see the Modell of a ffont for the Church	0:0:8.
Aprill 30th 1706 paid Coach hire and Expenses to and from my Lord Dartmouths with M^{r} Sheppharđ and M^{r} Spencer to Sollicite him for an allowance for the Vault, and afterwards attending M^{r} Chapman in Holborne & to consult him about Coping the Church according to my Lady Pritchards desire and upon Attending the Proctor about M^{r} Randolph and Seing a pulpitt &c.	£0:13:10.
May 1st 1706 Spent on my Lord Dartmouth's gent: &c when wee got £30 of my Lord	£0:4:6.
July 3rd 1706 Spent with M^{r} Shephar and M^{r} Spencer att M^{r} ffishers in Consulting about the Pulpit Altar-piece &c.	£0:2:4.

July 5th Spent with Mr Shephar and Mr Spencer on Mr Chapmans viewing the worke and treating about the Altar piece	£0 : 4 : 0.
July 29th gave the severall workmen to drinke at setting up the Gallery at ye Desire of some of the Parishon:	£0 : 1 : 0.
Sept 17th paid Mr Spencer his Expenses on Chapman &c in Surveying when the pulpit was set up	£0 : 1 : 0.
Sept 23rd paid the workmen at the Bell ffounders to Drinke upon Sounding the Bells at Mr Phelps	£0 : 1 : 0.
Oct 25th gave the Workmen to Drinke upon putting up the Pulpit Stairs	£0 : 1 : 0.
Decr 28th 1706 Gave the painters to Drinke for workeing the Hollydays to get the Church ready	£0 : 1 : 0.
Jany 6th $170\frac{6}{7}$ paid Mrs ffisher for a pint of Canary for the Vestry at opening ye Church	£0 : 1 : 6.

In addition to the above, there are several other entries of sums spent upon viewing the work, or in drink for the workmen, all these extra expenses being paid out of the general parochial funds.

From the dates of these various notices, it appears that the work of reconstruction occupied rather more than a year.

As is the case with most building operations, it very soon became apparent that the original estimate of the cost would have to be considerably exceeded, various works being undertaken which had not been at first contemplated.

We find on

Feby 13. $170\frac{5}{6}$ Spent upon a Vestry at the Sieve about agreing to pull downe the Church Yard Wall	£0 : 6 : 0.

There are, however, no minutes of this Vestry.

March 26th for drawing an Instrument for sevl of the Parishionrs to signe for requesting Mr King to give leave for the pulling downe the wall to enlarge the passage	£0 : 3 : 0.

Then 'Att a Vestry held the 6th day of May 1706 att the Sieve Alehouse in the Parish of Trinity Mynoryes occac̄oned by the Churches being now repayring,' it was agreed to accept the purchase made by the churchwarden, for the use of the parish, of the house adjoining the church for the sum of £15, and it was further agreed that the committee for the repairs of the church should 'pull downe and demolish the said house and part of the old Church wall lying on the South side of the same and to erect a convenient front at the West End and Cupilo to the same in such manner as they shall think fitt.' The cost was not to exceed £50, which they undertook to raise by assessment on the parish, less what should be obtained by the sale of old materials, and they agreed to indemnify the committee 'against all persons whatsoever from all accons Costs Suits Damages and demands, which shall at any time arise or happen to them or any of them on account of purchasing the said house and pulling down the same.'

Another alteration was to be made, but not at the expense of the parish, and considering the amount that Mr. King had contributed towards the restoration, it is a little astonishing that so cool a resolution should have been passed by the vestry.

> Att a Vestry held Sept 13th 1706 it was agreed that Daniell King Esq. shall at his own charge for a better prospect and Ornament to the said Church pull downe part of his old stone wall contayning in length from East to West twenty ffive ffoot and an Inch or thereabouts lying between the South West corner of the said Parish Church and his Warehouses adjoining to the widow ffishers And at his owne cost and charges to Erect a new Brick-wall in the room of the same old wall Also leaving a passage in the same wall of ffive ffoot and a half open for people to pass and repass.

This was, no doubt, another piece of wanton destruction of the old monastic work, the necessity for substituting new brick for old stone having apparently been quite a mania with the restorers of the period. Mr. King carried out the resolution of the vestry, but he evidently did not quite like the way in which he had been ordered to do it, and had expressed his mind accordingly, for on March 26, 1707, they passed the following resolution :—

Wee the Parishioners of the said Parish who have hereto subscribed our names Doe for the Satisfaction of Daniell King Esq. Revouke, Annull and make Void the Order of Vestry relating to the said Daniell Kings Brick wall dated the 13th day of September last; And Wee doe hereby acknowledge and declare that the said Daniell King hath at his own charges for a better prospect and Ornam^{t} to the said Church and accomodac̃on of the said Parish pulled downe part of his own Stone wall containing &c.

On April 3, 1711, the accounts for the restoration of the church were finally audited and passed by the vestry, and the bond given by the committee was cancelled.

The whole sum expended amounted to £855 10*s.* 6*d.*, which was very nearly double the original estimate. This included £1 16*s.* 4*d.*, the cost of a 'raiseing dinner.'

Of this sum £295 12*s.* 8*d.* was raised by assessment on the parish, and the remaining £559 17*s.* 10*d.* by voluntary subscriptions as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
The Earl of Dartmouth	30	0	0
The Lady Prichard	101	13	4 [1]
Daniel King Esq	400	0	0
The Hon^{ble} M^{r} Villars	10	0	0
M^{r} Wheake	5	0	0
M^{r} Green	5	0	0
M^{r} Lawford	5	0	0
M^{rs} Etherington	3	4	6

The accounts do not contain specific statements of the work done, but consist mostly of tradesmen's bills without particulars; some items, however, are mentioned as being contained in the bills, among these being 'a new pulpitt,' 'Altar-piece,' 'Communion Table,' and a 'ffont'; there is also a 'Bellfounders' bill of £24, which shows either that they had new bells or recast the old ones. There are also bills for putting up 'my Lord Dartmouth's monument,' and 'Pellam's' monument, which implies that the monuments were taken down and replaced. It would be interesting to know if there were any other monuments taken down which were not replaced.

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[1] This sum evidently includes Lady Prichard's rate as well as her subscription, for we find among the general accounts 'Jany. 2, 170$\frac{6}{7}$ gave my Lady Pritchars Man for bringing my Ladys rate towards repairing the Church over and above the £100 she gave us 0 : 2 0.'

In the original specification, drawn up by the committee, it does not appear that it was at first intended to take down the walls of the body of the church, but it is quite evident that the west, south, and east walls were entirely demolished. Hatton, in his 'New View of London,' written in 1708, says that the church was rebuilt from the ground; it is stated, however, on one of the boards on the south wall that the north wall was not rebuilt, and it is therefore a part of the old church. This statement is confirmed by the fact that the last time a tablet was affixed to this wall it was found to be stone and not brick, and any doubts as to this have been entirely set at rest by the temporary disclosure of the outside of this wall during the rebuilding of the London and North-Western warehouses.

Hatton[1] thus describes the church as he saw it in 1708, immediately after its reconstruction.

> The walls of this new Church are Brick, the Roof flat, covered with plain Tile, the Floor is paved with Stone, and there are two Isles. As to its Ornaments, the Church is new pewed with Oak, and there are Galleries on the South and Part of the West sides. It is wainscotted about six feet high, and the Pulpit finier'd. The Altar-Piece (which was erected Anno 1706) is adorned with four Pilasters, their Entablature and Compass Pediment, under which is a Glory, in the Resemblance of a Dove descending, the Rays &c carved; as is also a Lamp on the Pediment, between two others on the Cornice. The Intercolumns are the Commandments done in Black on Gold, under a painted Glory; and the Pater-Noster and Creed are Gold on Black, each under two carved Cherubims. The Communion Table is placed on a Foot-Pace of White Marble, vien'd with Blue, which is inclosed with Rail and Ballister. The Dimensions of this little Church are in Length 63 feet, Breadth 24, Altitude about 20, there is no Steeple built in Form of other Towers but this at the West End is a little higher than the rest of the Church, with a handsome Turret.

Except that the Commandments etc. are now painted in black on a white ground, the initial letters being in red upon

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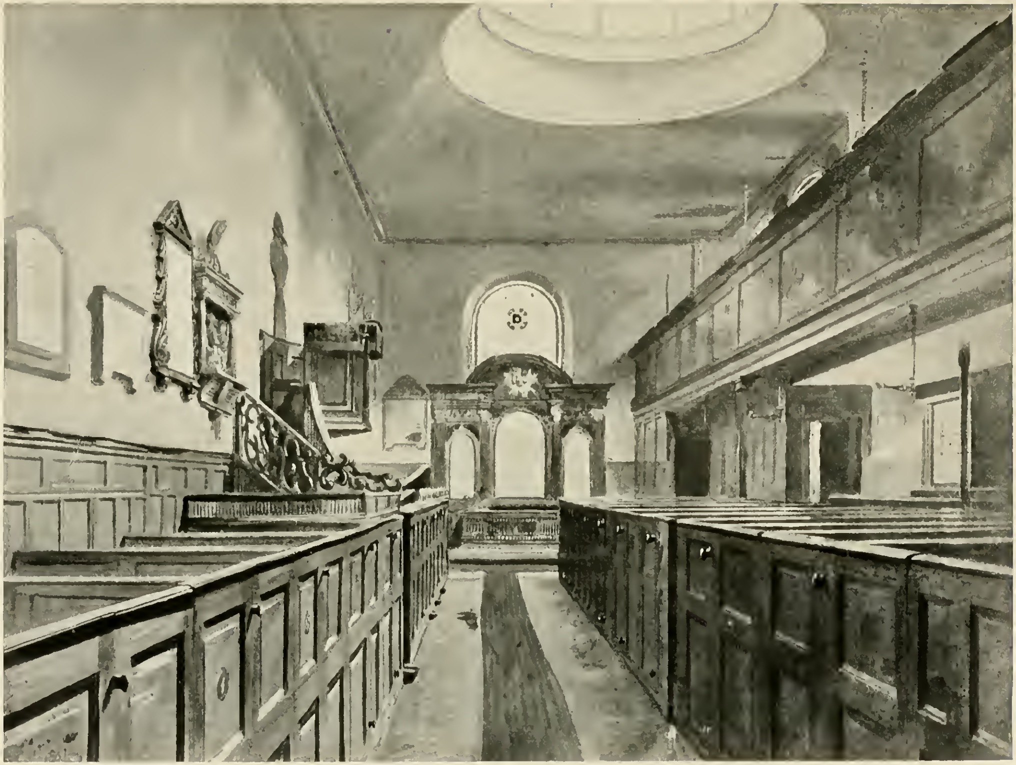
[1] Hatton, *New View of London*, 1708.



THE CHURCH OF HOLY TRINITY, MINORIES (INTERIOR).

a gold ground, few material changes were made in the general aspect of the church until it was closed in 1899. Notwithstanding Hatton's statement that the church was new pewed with oak, and also that it was the intention of the 'committee' to 'new pew' the church, it seems probable that some of the old work about the pews was retained, for the description, given in the accounts of 1567–1570, of the making of turned pillars with crests exactly corresponds with the pillars that till recently surrounded some of the pews. It is also noteworthy that, in the account of the making of the door to go into 'Mr. Pellams place,' it is stated that 'turnte pillars' were made for it, and the pew, adjoining which the Pelham monument was placed, had these pillars round the top; this fact possibly establishes the antiquity of this pew in particular, and marks it as having been the official pew of the Lieutenants-General of the Ordnance. If the original pillars were not replaced, they must have been copied. This possibly was so, as another pew, which is stated to have been erected in 1712, has also these same turned pillars round it, but of course these may have belonged to the old pew. Of the making of this pew we have an account in the following minute of vestry, March 24, 171½.

> Whereas at the Rebuilding of this Church an Omission was made in not appointing a Pew for the Minister on the South East side of the Church where he formerly enjoyed the same It is therefore Ordered that a convenient Pew be forthwith made for the Minister on the North side of the said Church Eastward of and adjoining to the reading Desk to contain in length Eight f^t one Inch and Five Foot one Inch in breadth till such time as a new vestry shall be erected, and then the said Pew shall be erected at the South East end of the Church where the Vestry now stands and shall containe one foote in length longer, and two f^t broader than the present intended pew is designed.

This pew was still the minister's up to the time of the dismantling of the church, the new vestry contemplated never having been erected.

As we learn from Hatton, the west gallery only extended part way across the church; in 1719, however, a new gallery was erected from side to side at the west end. In that year an offer was made by the Rev. Rosse Ley, Rector of St. Matthew, Friday Street, to lend a sum of money, not to exceed £60, for the erection of this gallery, with pews for the accommodation of the subscribers to the afternoon lecture, provided a moiety of rents on these pews should be secured for the repayment of the loan. The vestry accepted Mr. Ley's offer, and, as an acknowledgment of his kindness, agreed to elect and admit him one of the afternoon preachers on the first vacancy.

At the same time the convenience of the worshippers was considered more than the appearance of the church by the erection of six dozen hooks in the church to hang hats on, but most of these happily have long ago disappeared.

In this year there is a notice of a robbery having been effected in the church, and the churchwardens paid 3*s*. 6*d*. 'for an advertizement in ye Dayly Courant for ye Goods y^{t} was lost out of ye Church.'

The character of the restoration work may be judged from the fact that in a very few years extensive repairs were needed. In 1720 it was ordered 'that the Middle Bay of the Rooff & Ceiling Joyce (having been viewed & appearing very defective) be taken down, and a Sky light made in the Room thereof.' This, together with enclosing the west churchyard with 'Palasadoes,' cost over £100. During the next few years epairs of various kinds appear to have been frequently required.

In 1724 one of the bells had been broken, and there was consequently a 'Bell Founders Bill,' amounting to £2 16*s*. 0*d*. to pay, and three weeks later we read 'paid for Drink had at M^{r} Howells to try ye Bell it being broak a Second time —2*s*. 6*d*.'

In July 1729:—

> A View being taken of ye Steple of ye s^{d} Church it appeared that ye Corner posts of the Steple & ye Joyst Lintells & Wether boards being very rotten and decay'd Insomuch that it was in danger of falling down

it was ordered that the same be repaired at an estimated cost of £25 10*s*. 5½*d*.

At a vestry held on October 13 of the same year :—

> the Churchwarden Reported P suant to an Act of ye last Vestry, that he has laid out & Expended ye Sūm̃ of Twenty Five Pounds Tenn Shillings & Five Pence half penny For ye Nessary repairs of ye Church. And therefore mov'd yt he may be reimburst yt Sūm̃.

A church rate was accordingly ordered to be made for that amount, but

> At the Same Vestry It was Agreed & Ordered for ye future yt no Church Warden do lay out or Expend Above ye Sum : of Three pounds without ye Consent of a Vestry & yt in Case any Church Warden Shall Contrary to this Act of Vestry lay out more y^{n} y^{e} s^{d} Sūm̃ : he Shall be Answerable for ye Surpless thereof Out of his Own Mony.

It is difficult to understand the reason for making this order, since the churchwarden had been merely carrying out a previous resolution of the vestry. (On January 1, 1788, a similar resolution was passed, when the sum fixed upon was 40*s*.)

For some years after this nothing of importance appears to have been done to the church.

On May 15, 1745, there was

Paid for a new Font in the Christening pew	£3 . 3 . 0
Expenses at the same time	£1 . 1 . 0

On May 18 :—

Paid for Line Weights and Pullies for the Font	£0 . 8 . 0

But in 1748 the church is stated to have been 'greatly out of repair,' and estimates were received 'for amending and repairing' it. These amounted to £97 11*s*. 9*d*., which sum it was decided to raise by a 2*s*. rate.

On April 10, 1750, there was

Paid for the Kings arms	£2 . 17 . 6

These were no doubt the royal arms which still decorate the front of the west gallery.

On May 30, 1750, there was

Spent in consulting about Raising the alter Piece &c.—	£0 . 1 . 6,

but it does not appear that anything came of this consultation.

On June 5, 1753, it was determined to have the bells recast, with reference to which the following memorandum was recorded :

> It is this day agreed at the said Vestry that the three Bells should be cast by M^r^ Thos Lester of S^t^ Mary White Chaple the said Vestry hath agreed to pay the sum of fourteen pounds he to new cast the sd Bells of the same weight as near as possible and to find all materials and hanging the same in a compleat and workman like manner without any further expense or charge to the said parish whatsoever.

When the bill came to be paid, however, in February 1755, it amounted to £23 19*s.* 0*d.*, and the money was raised by subscription. In December 1760 the church was again repaired at a cost of £74 1*s.* 9¾*d.*, in addition to £6 12*s.* 0*d.* 'for carving and gilding done to the Altar piece.' There was also one shilling spent on 'Frankincense,' to take off the smell of the paint when the church was opened.

In 1768 the East India Company had begun building their warehouses in close proximity to the church, and as it had transpired that they intended to build a wall [1] by the north side of the church, thereby blocking the light from one of the church windows, the vestry determined to take the opinion of 'Councell' as to whether the company had a right to do this. Eventually, after conference between representatives of the two parties, it was agreed that the company should be allowed to build their wall, on condition of their replacing the 'old Sky Light' by a new one. This sky light cost the company £242 12*s.* 6*d.*

Up to the year 1770 the entrance to the gallery must have been from the outside of the church, for on October 11, at the same time that it was determined to make various alterations in the churchyard,

> It was agreed to obtain Room for Buryals to take down the

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[1] As stated above, the destruction of this wall by fire revealed for a brief space the remains of the one surviving Gothic window, which the parish authorities of that day allowed the Company to obliterate on the one side, while they plastered it over on the other.

outside Gallery Stairs against the South Wall of the said Church and to take down the present stone Steps and Erect circular Ditto and Screen doors on the inside of the said Church And to Erect a New fflight of Stairs on the inside of the said Church to the South Gallery therein and make a window where the Door of the Old Gallery Stairs now Stands which will add much light to the Seats under the said Gallery and to take down the steps leading to the door on the south side of the said Church And to rebuild them on a new plan All which alteration will be of great Utility to the parish in General some Room gained in the Church and no one person displaced from his sitting or standing to hear Divine Service and Sermons therein.

At the same time the churchwardens were 'Authorized and Empowered to apply for a Faculty for the purposes aforesaid,' which cost £12 11*s.* 0*d.*

These alterations cost £190 3*s.* 3*d.*, towards which Lord Dartmouth contributed £20, and Lord Pelham £10 10*s.* 0*d.*

In 1790 'It was ordered that the Churchwardens do provide a new Crimson Velvet Pulpit Cloth & Cushion with a Silk fringe to the same also a Communion Cloth.' It was also ordered 'that this Church be Repaired & Beautified according to the Estimates given in that M^r^ Ellis do the Gilding & the writing on the Altar Piece.' A little later in the same year it was ordered 'that the pews tables and Clock Dials were to be varnished, and the Dartmouth monuments polished and repaired and that subscriptions be requested from the Earl of Dartmouth and Lord Pelham.' In 1801 it was stated that 'the West Wall and the West End of the North Wall were cracked and much injured by the East India Company's Building' and also that 'the arch under the Font in the Church was in a very decayed state'; but little appears to have been done until six years later. In 1802 it was ordered that 'new mattings were to be provided for the Ayles of the Church together with six chairs for the use of the Vestry Room.'

In 1803, apparently for the first time, the vestry thought of warming the church. At a vestry held in that year the want of a fire in the church was mentioned as a subject of much regret, and was said to be the cause of several of the parishioners not so regularly attending Divine Service in the winter season. It was therefore agreed that 'the Church Wardens be at liberty to contract for the erection of one and the inhabitants be asked to subscribe.' It cost £60 12*s*. 0*d*. This fireplace or stove was replaced, in 1834, at a cost of £25, by an iron stove which remained in use till 1879, when a tortoise stove was substituted.

In 1807 no less a sum than £639 was spent upon repairs, and in 1823, £298 12*s*. 10*d*., in addition to £7 1*s*. 0*d*. for 'Velvet Hanging for Pulpit Desk & Communion' and £16 17*s*. 6*d*. for 'Black Cloth for Hangings.'

The church was again repaired in 1843, at a cost of £129 16*s*. 6*d*., in addition to the cost of laying on gas, which was carried out at the same time. It was repaired again in 1852, at a cost of £44 17*s*. 6*d*., and in 1860 at a cost of £141, and again in 1877 at a cost of £77 6*s*. 0*d*.

On January 1, 1899, it was closed as a Parish Church, on the union of the benefice with that of St. Botolph's Aldgate, the Church of St. Botolph's becoming the Parish Church of the united parishes. The fabric of the church (no longer regarded as a church) remains, but nearly the whole of the fittings have been removed. A partition has been erected, dividing it into two parts; the western and larger portion being used for ordinary parochial purposes, while the eastern division is reserved for occasional services connected with mothers' meetings &c.

CHURCH FURNITURE.

The first allusion we find to anything required for the performance of Divine Service is in 1568:—

Itm̄ p^{d} to m^{r} haynes the xxviith day of octob̄r ffor a
  booke of omelyes ffor the chyrche . . . . iii^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ p^{d} the xvith day of decemb̄r for vii ells of lynnen
  clothe to make a surples at xviii^{d} th' ell . . . ix^{s} vi^{d}

And 'at sainte thomas day,' the same year, the following 'Necessarys Belongynge to ye chyrche' are stated to have been handed over by the outgoing to the incoming churchwardens.

Itm̄ Re^{d} the same day a com̄uion cowpe of sylver waying viii onzes q^{ter} beloḡnge to the chyrche

Itm̄ R^d an olde table clothe of dyper & an olde towell

Itm̄ R^d a byble a booke of com̄on prayer and a booke[1] of homelees of bothe tomes.

In 1570 the same list is repeated, together with

Itm̄ a wrytinge of the water curse betwexte us & the mayre of London & a pley for ouꝰ Churche & ii woden platters & iiii woden candelstickes.

In 1579 it is stated

The Church wardens A bove named have adyt 3 book mor on ys A Regester booke ye second ye in Junciones & ye 3 a prear book consarnynge the Erthe quacke.

In 1592 we find the following statement

A note of Suche things as was delivered to the churchwarden John hall belonginge to the p rishe Inprimis a churchecoupe of Silver a longe dieper table clothe & a dieper napkin & a great Bible & a service Booke & a booke of p chement of Receits and payments & a Register Booke a longe wenscote boxe & a blake boxe wth all the writinges of p rishe in it & a booke of the parafrayses of Erasmus of S^t paul to the Romans

In 1610 the list of things belonging to the church contains the following fresh items: 'a spout pot of pewter & a pewter dyshe for the comunion bread & the surplis.' And in the next year there is also mentioned 'a Cushion for the pulpett.' In 1615 we read also of a 'greene Carpett of broad Cloth and a black clothe.' The green carpet is elsewhere described as a 'greene table clothe.' In 1618 there are included in the list '2 bookes of Erasmus paraphrayses and also a booke of Bishop Jewells works against M^r Harding.'

In 1638 the entire inventory is given, viz.:—

one lynnen dyaper napkin and one Damask Cloth and one Dyaper Cloth for the Com̄mion table and one green carpet for the table one Cushion of plush for the pulpitt two silver cupps wth

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[1] This book of homilies, or omelyes, as it is called in the accounts, was purchased the same year for 3*s*. 8*d*., and at the same time the churchwardens bought '7 ells of lynen cloths to make a surples at 18*d*. the ell.'

covers two pewter Cannes one Surplus and Black Cloth a great bible with two seruice bookes two other bookes one of Jewell C^{r} Harding another of Erasmus one pewter Spout pott one pewter platter to sett bread on.

This is the first mention of the second silver cup. The two pewter 'cannes' are elsewhere described as flagons.

In 1660 there is included[1] 'the Brass Candlestick with twelve Branches' and in 1667 '1 pewter ewer & Charger.'

In 1670 there is added 'Two Silver fflaggons which are the Gifts of Colonell William Legge of his Maj^{ts} Bed Chamber wth his Cote of Armes Engraven thereon Dated the 25th of December Anno 1669.'

The list in 1680 omits all the pewter articles, and, as they are not again mentioned, it seems probable that they had been disposed of at that time.

In 1681 there is added 'a silver servitor,' and in 1684 'a Silver Spoute Pott.'

In 1703 there was 'bought and paid ffor a damask table Cloth and napkin ffor ye Commu: table £2 12 0

In 1707 it is stated that Dr. King made a present of a new Bible to the parish.

It is worthy of note that, in 1718, no less a sum than £4 8*s*. 9*d*. was paid for a surplice.

In 1719 a new 'book of hommeles' was purchased for 4*s*. 6*d*.

In 1730 Captain John Partis gave 'two Silver Dishes for receiving the Sacrament money to be collected in the Said Church and at the Church Doors.' As a mark of gratitude to Captain Partis for 'his Generous Benefaction,' and also because he was 'an antient Subscriber to the afternoon preaching' and 'was willing to contribute something further (if need be),' the vestry granted him the exclusive right to a seat in pew No. 13.

In 1746 a 'Silver Spoon' was bought 'for the use of the Sacrament' at a cost of 7*s*. 3*d*. On September 19, 1808, 'Two highly finished silver and gold Communion plates were received 'from John Judson Esq. with a handsome letter accompanying the same.'

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[1] This appears to have been sold in 1774, for among the receipts of that year we find 'Dec. 2. Reced by the sale of an old Branch weight 20 Pound and a half @ 6*d*. pound £0. 10. 6.'

The letter is as follows:—

No. 31 Minories. Sep. 14. 1808.

Gentlemen,

I am fuuly persuaded you cannot be and are not strangers of my attachment to the Parish of Holy Trinity in the Minories, and as a further pledge thereof I herewith send you two Communion Plates requestg you will be pleased to accept the same and to have them deposited with the other Communion plate for the use of the sd parish, also accept my best wishes for the well doing of the Parish and may God protect you all

I am gentlemen
With the greatest regard and respect
Your most obe^t & h^ble serv^t
John Judson

In 1812, the churchwardens were ordered to procure 'one pair of Candlesticks for the Communion Table.' These were still in existence in 1835, and are then described as 'plated,' but they have subsequently disappeared.

The plate in 1899 consisted of:—

1. A Chalice, engraved with a coat of arms, and dated 1637.

2. A cover for the same.

3 and 4. Two large Flagons, with lids engraved with the coat of arms of Col. William Legg and inscribed

The Gift of Colonel William Legg
of his Maiestyes Bedchamber
December 29th 1669.

5. A Flagon or 'Spout-pot,' inscribed

The Gift of Phillip Daffree
to ye parish of Trinity Minoris
Arthur Rowland Church Warden
May ye 20. 1683.

6. A Chalice engraved with a coat of arms, and inscribed

Ex done M.B.
1722.

7. A cover for the same.

8 and 9. Two Patens inscribed

The Gift of the Parish of Trinity in the Minories
Peter Cook
Rich^{d} Hayward Churchwardens. 1719

10 and 11. Two Alms Dishes, engraved with the monogram I.H.S. in the centre, and coat of arms above, and inscribed

The Gift of Capt John Partis to the Parish of Trinity Minories
(John Linton & Charles Bayley) Church Wardens 1730.

12. A Spoon inscribed 'Trinity Minories 1746.'

13 and 14. Two Alms Dishes engraved with the monogram I.H.S. in the centre, and inscribed

The Gift of John Judson Esq Treasurer in the year 1808
Robert Barnett & Isaac Mansfield Churchwardens
Holy Trinity in the Minories

It will be observed that the chalice, which for many years was the only piece of Communion plate belonging to the parish, and had probably been handed down from very ancient times, has disappeared. It was probably disposed of in 1722, the date affixed to the second chalice now in use. The 'silver servitor,' which was procured in 1681, has also long ago ceased to be included in the list of the church property.

In addition to the various belongings of the church already mentioned, must be included the beadle's staff. The first allusion to it is in 1735, but it must have been in existence at an earlier period, as it is then mentioned as being mended, '& a Crown putt to ye top of it at a cost of £0. 16. 0.' This staff was gilt in 1773, for a shilling, and in 1776, another shilling was spent in gilding and painting it. On April 14, 1789, 'a new Staff was ordered for the Beadle with a Silver Top' which cost £8 in addition to 4*s*. for engraving.

This mace, which was regilt and repaired in 1812, was regularly carried before the vicar by the beadle until the closing of the church in 1899.

As the church then ceased to be used for Divine worship, all the accessories thereof were removed. The chalice with cover (1 and 2), one paten (9), and an alms dish (13) were assigned, by the direction of the Bishop of London, to the Church of Bromley St. Leonard's, Bow, and the other chalice with cover (6 and 7) and paten (8) to St. Matthew's, Fulham, for the use of St. Michael's Chapel of Ease. The rest of the Communion plate, the altar, the altar fittings, cushions, and kneeling stools, were then removed to Aldgate, the altar being now used as a credence table. The pulpit was presented to the author, who in 1906 erected it in the parish church of All Saints, East Meon, of which he was vicar from 1889 to 1901. The pews, and the rest of the fittings, with the exception of the altar rails, which remain *in situ*, have been sold.

THE ORGAN.

There is no allusion to any kind of musical instrument earlier than 1772. On June 11 in that year at a vestry

> to take into consideration of having an Organ for the use of the Parish when it was Carried by the Holding up of Hands Seven to Two that the Parish should have an Organ for the use of their said Church The Vestry then Proceeded to Think that the Organ which should be Purchased for the use of the said Parish Church Should not Exceed the sum of One Hundred Guineas which was Determined by Holding up of Hands nine for it and none against it.

At an adjourned vestry, held a fortnight later, a

> Mr James Jacobson offered to sell the Gentlemen present an Organ for the sum of £84 which was agreed to and Mr Church warden Merriman by Consent and direction of the said Vestry paid the said Mr Jacobson one guinea as Earnest Money for the same and the said Mr Jacobson did then sign an Agreement to deliver the same to Mr Merriman on Account of the said Parish on paying the Remainder of the purchase money within fourteen days from this date.

It would seem that, without waiting for the purchase money, the organ was at once erected, but did not meet with general approval, for we find that, at a vestry held on the following July 1, the parishioners having agreed to apply for 'a Faculty if the same should be Necessary in Fixing an Organ in this Church' and having appointed an organist, at a salary of £12 a year

> They then proceeded to take into Consideration M^r^ John Crang's Proposal which is to take down the new Purchased Organ and Repair and make good the pipes &c in every respect Requisite to Compleat the said Organ with a Mahogony front to the Satisfaction of the Churchwardens and the whole not to exceed the sum of Thirty Pounds.

But the matter did not end here, for in another fortnight the parishioners were summoned 'To Reconsider the Fixing an Organ in this Church' and 'on hearing the report of the Difficulty in Obtaining a Faculty for fixing the Organ' they 'Resolv'd That the Churchwardens are Impowered to dispose of the Organ bought of M^{r} James Jacobson, to the Best Advantage, And that no Organ be fixed in this Church for the Present.'

But they were now in a dilemma, they could neither raise the money to pay Mr. Jacobson nor could they sell the organ. They first tried to do the former, and accordingly 'thought proper to apply to Mr. Isaac Fox Watchmaker in the Minories an Inhabitant & Parishioner of this Parish to Borrow the said Sum of Eighty Four Pounds who Agreed to lend the same.' It was settled that it was to be repaid within three years, and Mr. Fox was to have three per cent. interest. But 'Mr. Fox did not Conform to the last Vestry of lending' the money, and consequently, on November 11, it was ordered 'that the Determination of the Vestry July 14th last shall be put in force which was to Sell and Dispose of the said Organ to the best Advantage and that Immediately.' At the next vestry, however, on November 13, they again changed their minds, and 'Resolved that the Organ be Paid for by subscription and that as soon as the Subscription shall be filled, the Church Wardens should have Authority to Apply to the Commons for a Faculty for fixing up the Same.'

It would seem that a certain amount of subscriptions were received, but not enough to pay for the organ, for on

March 15, 1773, it was 'Resolved that M^r Merriman the Present Church Warden do Pay the said M^r James Jacobson the Deficiency of the Subscription Money Subscribed to Pay for the said Organ,' but then the question naturally arose as to the means to be taken for raising the money that was still required. Accordingly two days later, it was

> Resolved that the Vestry Clark do Attend those Parishioners that Signed the Vestry Book in order to have an Organ for the use of this Parish and also the Rest of the Parishioners to Sign an Agreement Drawn this Day in Vestry to Indemnify any Person Advancing the Money to Pay for the said Organ And Further Resolved That if they Refuse to Sign the said Agreement then that M^r Joseph Merriman do Sell the said Organ by Publick Auction and Pay M^r James Jacobson for the same But if any Deficiency should Arise by such sale the said Joseph Merryman by Advancing such Deficiency, this shall be his Indemnification for so Doing.

No one apparently would advance the money, and so the organ was at once put up for sale, the only result being an 'Auctioneers Bill for the Intended Selling the organ £5 2*s*. 6*d*.'

In the May following, the purchase money was at last paid to Mr. Jacobson, but how it was raised does not appear, possibly part of it had been advanced by Mr. Merriman, as he seems to have taken possession of the organ and kept it at the Sieve (the public-house), for the next we hear of it is on Holy Thursday, May 12, 1774, when

> The Vestry then further Impowered the Churchwardens to Demand the Organ now in the Custody of M^r Joseph Merryman and which is the Property of the Parish and that the Same may be Removed to the House of M^r William Wright and in Case the said Joseph Merryman should Refuse to Deliver the Same then that the said Church Warden may Sue the said Joseph Merryman for the Recovery of the Same. The Vestry then further Impowered the said Churchwardens to have the said Organ put in Proper order and to Sell the Same and that the same be Sold for not less than Thirty Pounds.

In the October following, a purchaser was at last found for the organ, and £1 1*s*. was paid 'to the Person who brot the Customer'; Mr. Horwood, the 'Customer,' paid £36 15*s.* for it; it was removed from the 'Ceive,' and thus ended one of the most flagrant pieces of blundering ever perpetrated by a vestry.

It was not until 1808 that the parishioners again tried their hand at buying an organ, when

> Mr Judson moved that an organ be purchased and fixt up in the Church of this Parish and the same being seconded with a request that Mr Judson would take upon himself the trouble of carrying the same into effect on being Indemnified by the Parish from all expense attending the same—which being put was carried unanimously.

The purchase money was raised by subscription, but what the instrument cost does not appear. It does not seem, however, to have met with general approval, for 'It being suggested that the organ would require a stronger Bass It was moved that the same have an additional half swell.'

Five years later (1813), 'the parish determined on furnishing the Church with a new organ,' and, several 'estimates and proposals' having been considered, 'one from Mr. Lincoln offering to erect such Instrument for the sum of £100 and the old Organ was approved.' This agreement was carried out. Though of no great merit, and of late years its mechanism had become somewhat impaired, this organ survived till the closing of the services in the church rendered it of no further avail.

The Church Services

The parish records afford but little information in reference to the services held in the church, except from October 28, 1567, to the end of the year 1570, during which time a list is given of all the services at which there were collections. In this list, however, there are considerable gaps, for which it is difficult to account, except on the supposition that the church was closed for the repairs which at that time were being executed.

The entries referred to (1567) are as follows:—

A note of all such money as heth byne receaved in our chyrche at the sarmondes as ffolwt

Imprimis at the scottche mans sarmond mayd on symond day & Jude in ye four nōnē	xiiis
Rd at the after none at mr standens sarmond	xviis xid ob
Rd the fyrst of novembr in the foure nōnē at mr coverdels sarmond	viis viid ob
Rd in the after nōnē at his sarmond	viis iid ob
Rd the saconde day of novembr in the foure nōnē & after nōnē at mr wylkinsons sarmond	xviis viiid
Rd the ixth day in the fore nōnē & after nōns sarmonde mayd by mr browne	xxxs vid
Rd the xv day in the four nōnē at mr brownes sarmond	xiiis iiiid
Rd the xxxth day of nōvēbr in the after nōnēs sarmond mayd by mr standen	xvs vid ob qr
Rd the viith day of decembr in the foure nōnē at mr pattisons sasmond	viiis iiid
geven the sam day by the duches of sutholk towardes the chyrche	xs
Rd the xiiiith day in the foure nōnē and afternōnēs sarmond by mr coverdell	xs xid
Rd the xxi day at his sarmond mayde in the for nōnē & afternōnē	viis ixd
Rd the xxvith day of Decembr at mr coverdels sarmond in the foure nōnē and afternōnē	xiiid
Rd at his sarmond mayd the xxviith day in the four none and afternone	iiiis vid
Rd the xxviiith day at his sarmond mayd in the foure none	xxiiid
Rd upon newe yeres day at his sarmond	iiis vid
Rd the xi day of January at mr coverdales sarmond in ye fornone	iis vid ob
Rd the xviii day at mr coverdales sarmond mayde in the fornene	iis iiiid

The hold some of thes
Sermondes ys viiil xvs iid ob qr

In 1568:—

Rd at sasmondes and at the cōmūnions as here after ffolowth

Imprmis Rd the viith day of Marche being sonday of the comunycants	viiis vd qr

Itm̄ re^{d} the xxixth day beinge sonday at m^{r} fieldes made on the fore none and after none . . .	x^{s}
Itm̄ re^{d} upon sonday beinge the fourthe of Aprell 1568 at m^{r} fieldes sarmond made in the fore none & of the comunycants & at his sarmond mayd in the afternone	xxxix^{s} ix^{d}
Itm̄ Re^{d} upon sonday the xith of Aprell of the comunycants & at his sarmond mayd in the foure none & for offrings	xv^{s} x^{d}
Itm̄ re^{d} upon sonday the xviii day of aprell being easter day at the foure nones sarmond mayd by m^{r} coverdell & of the comunycants . . .	xiiii^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ re^{d} upon satterday the ffurste day of may of the comunycants w^{ch} was my [1] lady mary & my lady elner & sartayn other w^{ch} recevid	iiii^{s} ob
Itm̄ Re^{d} upon sonday beinge the xxiiith day of octobr at m^{r} coverdells sarmond & at the comunyon the sam tyme	xxvi^{s}
Itm̄ Re^{d} at a comunyon mynystred by m^{r} haynes the xxxth of septebr	xx^{d}
Itm̄ m^{r} kythe prechid ond saynt steuns daye where was reseued at the churche dore	xiii^{s}
Itm̄ m^{r} kythe preched the sundaye followinge being the iii daye of Januarye where we had . . .	ix^{d}
Itm̄ m^{r} kyfthe preched the 10 daye of Januarye and gave the comunion where at we had all thinges discharged	vi^{s} vi^{d}

For the next two years, 1569 and 1570, the entries continue with hardly the omission of a single Sunday, from which it appears there was always a sermon with an offertory in the morning, and sometimes in the afternoon of Sundays, and occasionally on Saints' days and other days, the Holy Communion being celebrated but once a month only (the fourth Sunday).

Very often, when it is stated that the Holy Communion was 'mynistered,' it is added 'where at we had all things discharged' which probably refers to the full receipt of the legal offerings from the communicants.

Such being the services provided for the parishioners, they were expected to attend them, and that not by persuasion but by compulsion, as the following order of vestry testifies :—

---

[1] The Lady Mary Pelham.

> March xxiith 1580
>
> An order taken for com̄ing to com̄on praires upon Sondaies & other holie daies according to the statute an^{o} i^{o}. Reginæ Elizabethæ.
>
> If any should wthout iust & reasonable causes absent himself from the holie exercises of praires & preaching we conclude that according to the statute he shall forfeit for every such default—xii^{d}
>
> We count thes iust & reasonable causes, to witt p sence at preachinge in other places, so that it be not ordinarie & com̄on : imploiment about the prcinct affairs : sicknes & weaknes of bodie : necessarie travaile & iourneyinge, and such like—
>
> Provided that this shalbe no cloke either to contemptuous & disobedient p sons, as Papists, Anabaptists, etc, or to carnall men or atheists who use to haunt taverns alehouses etc, in the tyme of divine service

The only other references in the records to the church services are an occasional note as to the duties of the clerks in conducting what was considered their part of the service, and the ordering in 1789 'that Seats be erected in M^{r} Sharpes Pew in the Gallery for the accommodation of such Gentlemen as chuse to sing in the Congregation,' and at a later time there are entries in the accounts of small sums paid to boys from the Aldgate ward schools, who formed the choir.

A few notices, however, are to be found in contemporary histories of London, of the services provided in the church. Thus we are informed by James Paterson, in 'Pietas Londinensis,' who wrote at the beginning of the 18th century, that

> Prayers are only on Holy Days or publick days, and on Wednesdays and Fridays, through Lent at II o'clock. Lectures are on Jan. 30. March 8. May 29. Sep 2. Nov 5. and other public Solemnities ; on Ash Wed. Good Friday etc. Sacraments are given on the two last mentioned Days, beside the first Sunday of the month at 12.

Seymour again, writing in 1734, tells us that, in addition to the lectures given by the lecturers, 'the Curate preaches a preparation sermon Gratis, every Friday at 5 o'clock, in the afternoon, before the first Sunday in the month, Prayers are Weds, Fridays and Holidays through-out the year.'

THE MONUMENTS.

The oldest monument[1] was one erected to the memory of Sir John Pelham and his son Oliver. It contains the figures of a knight in armour and a lady kneeling opposite to each other, and a child kneeling behind the knight. Above the figures is a shield, bearing the arms of Sir John Pelham quarterly, surmounted by a helmet, and the family crest, a peacock.

Below the figures is the following inscription :—

Death First did Strike Sir John Here Tomb'd in claye,
And then Enforst His Sonne to Followe Faste,
Of Pelham's Line this Knyghte Was Chiefe and Staye,
By this Behold all Fleshe Must Dye at Last.
Best Bletsowe's Lord thy Sister Most may Moane
Both Mate and Sonn Hathe Left Her Here Alone.
Sir John Pelham, died the 13. of October 1580
Oliver Pelham, his sonne, dyed 19. of Januarie 1584

In the centre of this inscription is placed an escutcheon, charged with the arms of Pelham, impaling those of Lord St.-John of Bletsoe, in the county of Bedford.

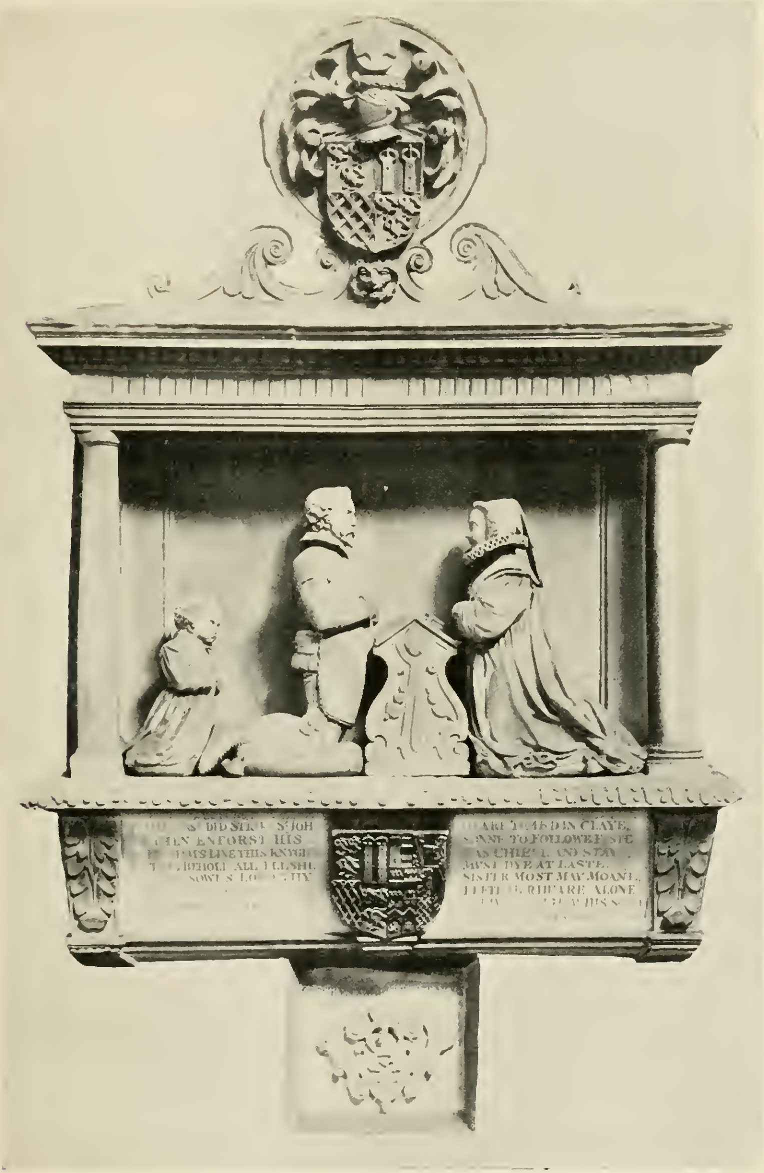
Below the monument is the following inscription, enclosed within the Pelham buckle, 'Christus mihi vita et mors lucrum.'

The next monument (taken chronologically) is that of Colonel William Legge. On the upper portion are his crest and arms, and below, the following inscription :—

In Memory of Colonel William Legge Eldest Son of Six born to Sir Edward Legge & Mary Walsh which Edward was onley Son to William Legge and Ann Bermingham of y^e^ truly Noble & antient family of y^e^ Berminghams of Athenree in the Kingdom of Ireland. He was Groom of the Bedchamber and Lieutenant General of the Ordinance to King Charles y^e^ first, & in y^e^ late

---

[1] It was removed (when the church was dismantled) to Stanmer, near Lewes, Sussex.


S^T DID STR[illegible] S^T JOH
[illegible]HEN ENFORST HIS
[illegible] LINE THIS KNYGH[illegible]
[illegible] BEHOLD ALL FLESHE
SOWLS LO[illegible]
[illegible]ARE TOMBD IN CLAYE,
[illegible] TO FOLLOWE [illegible]
[illegible] CHIEF[illegible] AND STAY
MUST DYE AT LASTE.
SISTER MOST MAY MOANE
[illegible] ARE ALONE

MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF SIR JOHN PELHAM, KT., AND HIS SON OLIVER.

Civil wars was Governor of Chester & Oxford, & upon y^{e} happy Restoration of y^{e} Royal family in y^{e} year 1660, was in consideration of his untainted fidelity to y^{e} King & his many & great Sufferings during y^{e} Civil war [1] restored to his Place of Lieutenant General of y^{e} Ordinance and Groom of his Majesties Bedchamber by King Charles y^{e} 2nd & as a further Mark of his Royal favor Superintendent & Treasurer of y^{e} Ordinance. He married Elizabeth Washington Eldest Daughter to Sir Will^{m} Washington & Ann Villers Daughter to Sir George Villers & Sister to y^{e} most Noble Prince George Duke of Buckingham by Whom he had 3 sons & two Daughters. He died Oct^{r} 13th 1672 in y^{e} 83rd year of his Age & Lieth in a vault under this place.[2]

Near this is another, bearing the crest and arms of the first Lord Dartmouth, and the following inscription:—

To the memory of the Right Honourable George Lord Dartmouth distinguished by his Early and Eminent deserts and many Signal marks of Royal trust and favour he was Governour of Portsmouth and Master of the Ordnance, Privy Councel^{r} and member of the Cabinet to K. CH and K. James the 2nd and Master of the Horse to K. James. After many Singular Proofs of his Courage Conduct and Affection to his Country given in several Engagements at Sea, he Commanded in Chief and cary'd the Flag as Admirall of the whole English Fleet in two solemn Expeditions, he died Oct^{r} 25th 1691 in the 44 Year of his Age and lyes interrd in this place he Married Barbara Daughter and Coheir of Sir Henry Archbold in Staffordshire by whom he had Issue one Son and seven Daughters two of which lie in the same Vault as do also his L^{d}ships Father and Mother Colon^{l} W^{m} Legge Lieut^{nt} Gen^{l} of the Ordnance and Elizabeth Daughter of Sir W^{m} Washington and Philip Eldest Son to Sir Christopher Musgrave of Ednall in Cumberland who married Mary the Eldest Daughter and Deceased Augst the 2^{d} 1688.

This monument was erected by his Lady above mentioned.

On a white marble tablet between these two monuments are recorded [3] the names of most of those who have been buried in the family vault belonging to Lord Dartmouth.

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[1] This statement is not strictly correct, see above, p. 149.

[2] Do., p. 151.

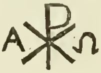
[3] This tablet was intended to contain the names of all the members of the family buried in the vault, but some have been accidentally omitted, and two are transcribed twice over. A complete list will be found in the chapter on the registers.

On the north wall is a small stone tablet, to the memory of Dr. Fly, with the following inscription:—

In memory of the Rev. Henry Fly, D.D., F.R.S., and S.A.,
Confessor to his Majesty's Household, Vicar of Willesden, Middlesex,
and for 63 years incumbent of this Parish,
a man of unaffected piety, sound learning and Christian benevolence,
ever anxious to promote the spiritual welfare of his Parishioners,
and never weary in well-doing.
He died the 10 August, 1833, in the 90 year of his age,
and was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral, of which he was Sub-dean.
As a tribute of filial gratitude and affection to a much lamented
and revered parent,
this monument is erected by his surviving children.

By the side of this is one erected to the memory of the Rev. William Blunt:

M. S.
Viri reverendi, Gulielmi Blunt, A.B.
Collegii Pembrochiensis apud Cantabrigienses, olim alumni
Scholæ Mercatorum Scissorum apud Londinienses. annos xxvi. ex Magistris,
et hujus parochiæ annos xvii. ministri,
nat: non. Dec^{r} MDCCXCIX, mort: xiii kal. Nov. MDCCCXLIX
fide, moribus, benevolentia, judicio, ornatus; charissimus omnibus,
præsertim suis, suimet autem quæ fuit modestia minime placens,
in Christo obdormivit, mortuus tamen loquitur, memoriam pius prosequere,
exemplum imitare,



On another tablet is the following:—

Sacred to the memory of
The Rev^{d} Isaac Hill, A.M.
Of Corpus Christi, Cambridge.
Educated on the Foundation of S^{t} Pauls School,
He obtained High Honour in his University.
And was elected one of the Assistant Masters in
S^{t} Pauls School,
Subsequently he was appointed High Master of
Mercers School London.
Which Situation he ably filled
For a long period of years.
He was Minister of S^{t} Bartholomew's Chapel Kingsland
And also Lecturer in this Church
of Holy Trinity Minories.

In every relation of life as a husband and parent
He was exemplary
Having lived respected, he died lamented,
By all who knew him
on the 21st September 1856
at the advanced age of eighty four
And was buried at Hackney
This monument was erected
in the name of his family by the
Revd Thomas Hill, A.M.
Perpetual Curate of Holy Trinity
Minories.

Immediately below the above is the following:—

M. S.
of the above named
Revd Thomas Hill, A.M.
of Clare Hall College, Cambridge
Who died on the 13th February 1865
Æt 57.
And was interred at Hackney

The righteous live for evermore; their reward is with the Lord and the care of them is with the most High

Therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown from the Lord's Hand; for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his arm shall he protect them.

As by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.

On another small slab is inscribed:—

Sacred
to the memory of
Julia Augusta Wyon
Died May 21st 1837 aged 8 years
Second Daughter of
[1] William and Catherine Wyon
of the Royal Mint

---

[1] William Wyon was one of a celebrated family of medallists and seal engravers, several of whom have been successively chief engravers at the Royal Mint. He was a great-grandson of George Wyon, a native of Cologne, who came to England in the suite of George I.

Of the few grave stones on the floor of the church the most interesting is a slab of marble in front of the altar rails; originally an inscription in brass ran round the edge of the stone, but the portion at the head alone remains; Seymour tells us that in his time most of it was gone, but he supplies us with the full inscription.

Constantia Lucy D. Thomæ Lucy Junioris, Militis Aurati, et D. Constantiae Uxoris (selectæ) fœminæ Filia, natu Maxima, annum agens plus minus undecimum pridie Idus Februarii in Domino, quàm felicissime, hic posita fato fungitur Anno Dom. 1596.

In the centre of this stone is a brass of the figure of a female, praying, and below inscribed also on brass:—

Nascimur & morimur: non exorabile Fatum
  Vita fugax, fragilis, lubrica, vana, brevis.
Ocyus in campis flos formosissimus aret,
  Optima praetereunt, deteriora manent.
Rapta immaturo fato Constantia Lucy
  Nunc jacet; & quondam lucida, Luce caret.
Ante annos Constans, humilis, mansueta, modesta,
  Dixeris & Paphia membra polita manu.
In vere aetatis persensit frigora brumae:
  Sic, sic praepropere praecoqua poma cadunt.

By the side of this stone is another, which was placed over the grave of William Hanway, who died January 19, 1686, and two of his children, William and Margaret (the inscription is partly obliterated). Another stone near the west door is inscribed: 'Here Lieth The Body of . . . ah Hollis, Late Wife of Thomas Hollis Junior . . . ' (the rest of the inscription is worn away).

Seymour also records the inscriptions upon two other stones which have either become defaced or covered by the pews. On one was this inscription:—

Vivere cornices multos dicuntur in annos:
  Cur nos angusta conditione sumus.

Underneath this was the figure of a child.

And then:—

Henricus Nowelus, filius D. Johannis Noweli Doctoris Medici, Optimæ Indolis puerulus, Unicum patris solatium. Natus 23. Julii 1598 & mortuus ex Atrophia 4 Augusti 1599 hic sepultus jacet.
Melioribus utere Fatis.

On the other:—

Hic jacet corpus Francis Martuni, Generosi: qui obiit 14 die Septembris Anno Domini 1606.

Hæc verba sæpissimè in ore illius viventis, O Domine, secundum merita mea, noli me judicare. Deprecor Majestatem tuam, ut misericorditer deleat iniquitates meas. Credo videre bona Domini in Terra Viventium.

CHAPTER XIV

CHURCHYARD. VAULTS. REGULATIONS FOR BURIALS

Aspect of the churchyard in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Its gradual transformation—Limited area, and difficulties thereby occasioned for disposing of the dead—Various expedients tried—Wholesale removal of corpses—Vaults under the church—Scandals connected therewith—Closing the vaults—The mummified head—Burying in wool

Looking at the Churchyard of the Minories at the present day, with its bare stone pavement, and hemmed in and overshadowed by the surrounding lofty warehouses, it requires some stretch of imagination to picture the aspect it presented three hundred years ago, when, on the very verge of the country fields and lanes, it was carefully laid out with 'seats at the gate and a boute the treese,' and planted with 'vynes' and enclosed with 'pailings.'

Every care was taken to preserve it as a shady and pleasant resting place for the living, but, at the same time, none who entered its gates were to forget that it was a burial place for the dead; the emblems of mortality were always before their eyes, as we learn from an entry in the accounts for 1732 of the cost of repairing 'the Deaths heads and Cross Bones.'

The smallness of its area is a matter of surprise, but in early days it must have been even smaller than it is at present, for from many references at the close of the seventeenth century to the 'new and the old' churchyard, it is evident that at that time some addition was made to it.

Its rustic character was maintained for at least a century and a half, as is testified by the frequent references to the 'planting of trees,' 'cutting the Creepers about the Church,' and 'cutting and sewing the grass.'

We first read of alterations being made in 1623, but these only concerned the fencing, a brick wall having replaced the palings. This was rebuilt in 1689 at a cost of £9 10*s*., and again in 1741. Then in 1763 'it was agreed to Amend the Dwarf wall and new wooden rails to be fixed on the same.'

But before these last repairs had been executed changes had already been allowed in the churchyard itself, which, in process of time, transformed the once neatly kept graveyard into a paved thoroughfare. In 1737

> Free Liberty was granted to Stephen Downs of Grays Inn Gent. his Executors & Assignes To hold & enjoy the Liberty of a Passage & Pavement & Passage for Water through the Gutter Drains or Channell as ye Same now Lies in & through ye Church Yard between the East end of ye said Church and ye West front of his Tenements, in consideration for which privilege he was always to keep the pavement & gutter in repair, replacing any disturbance from the digging of graves.

Whether Mr. Downs had already had access to his tenements through the churchyard does not appear, but this was certainly a concession of a regularly made paved pathway, which was entirely an innovation.

But it was in 1770, at the time when the East India Company were beginning to raise their lofty warehouses in close proximity to the church, that the last vestiges of the care and taste of the past generations were removed. On October 11 of that year

> It was Unanimously agreed to take down the Wooden Rails and Fence at the East and West Ends and South side of the great Church Yard and to take down the Wooden Rails Gate and Fence at the West End of the said Church and the Brick Wall adjoining to the said Wooden Rails Called Haydon House Wall and to pave the whole thereof with Yorkshire fflag paving.

On June 18, 1771, a faculty having been obtained for the purpose, a vestry was held to consider how the above resolution was to be carried out, when

> it was agreed that the Burials grounds were to be Paved with the best Burbeck Square Stones to be laid in Gravell in Courses running in a Parallel Line to the Church from East to West . . . .

further that the Sides of the Church Yard should be Pav'd with a Foot Way Agreeable to the other Part of the Foot Way round the Parish not to Exceed Three foot Wide and that such Indulgence given the Inhabitants of the Houses facing the Church Yard is not to be understood of Giving up such Right of the Church Yard by so Doing but that the same shall be liable to the pleasure of future Vestrys and other Officers.

This saving clause is of great importance, as it distinctly guards against the owners of adjoining houses obtaining vested rights of way to their houses through the churchyard. The vestry further enforced their rights by agreeing on July 27, 1771,

to take up the Kirb stones from the corner house opposite the Vestry Room to the further end of M^r^ Herrings . . . . and that M^r^ Thos. Sharp shall not make use of any part of the Church Yard in order to make Cellar Windows to his three houses in the Church Yard or any other Conveniency.

But what they would not allow him to take they granted him on August 22, 1771,

as an indulgence [viz.] at the front of his house 3^{ft} 6^{in} at the East end for a foot way Exclusive of his own ground which is Ten inches from the upright and 5^{ft} 6^{in} at the Westernmost end with Liberty for light for his Cellar windows or Steps to the Doors not Exceeding 18 ins from his own Ground, on condition that this order be brought forward on the Choice of a new Churchwarden Annually by the Vestry Clerk.

This indulgence was annually regranted until the year 1848, after which there is no further allusion to it.

These alterations in the churchyard gave rise to an angry dispute which lasted for some years. It had been part of the plan to take in a little piece of ground at the east end of Mr. Thomas Sharp's house, belonging to Mr. Stephen Fane, but they could not agree about the price to be paid for it. Eventually this was settled by arbitration, but Mr. Fane also laid claim to the wall, called Haydon House Wall, and threatened the churchwardens with an action for having pulled it down; the vestry agreed to stand by the churchwardens and fight it out. They asserted that the 'said wall is the property of the said Parish as Appears by the Church Book when Leave was Gave by the said Vestry to one Daniel King Esq., to Build a Brick Wall Instead of a Stone Wall.' (In the passage referred to, it is distinctly stated that the wall in question belonged to Mr. King; how the vestry got over this does not appear.) The matter was not settled until February 17, 1775, when

An agreement was come to between Stephen Fane and the Parish with regard to the disputed ownership of the Haydon House Wall to the following effect—First that the said Wall which has for some time Past been taken down shall not be Rebuilt by either of the said Contending Parties but that the Ground or Soil thereof shall be and Remain in the same way and manner as it now is, 2ndly that each side should pay their own costs, and 3rdly that Mr Fane should execute a general release for the nominal sum of 5s.

On December 12 the same year it was

Resolved that Two Stones be fixed one against the Church the other with the consent of Mr Thomas Sharp against his house now in the Tenure or Occupation of Messrs Jones and Chadwick in order to Shew the Situation of the Church Yard Wall, which by a Law Suit between one Stephen Fane and this Parish, and which may be more fully seen by the foregoing General Release Dated the 17th Febry 1775 from the said Stephen Fane to the said Parish—It was therein agreed that the said Ground should Remain Unoccupied by both Parties—

Resolved That the following Inscription be engraved on such Stone, being fourteen Inches broad.

This Stone Ascertains the Length and Breadth of the old Church Yard Wall which is Twenty five Feet long and fourteen Inches Broad

12th Decr 1775.

In 1825 it was resolved that six iron posts 'be procured and placed at the West End of the Church Yard instead of the seven wooden ones now standing there.'

In 1827 the little piece of the churchyard between the east end of the church and the 'new warehouses' was enclosed with iron gates, 'lightly made and contrived on the best plan so as not to allow space at the bottom for boys to get under conveniently who may thereby create a nuisance.'

It was in this enclosed space that the fire-engine house was afterwards erected, which in later times became a mortuary.

In 1835 some alterations were made to the posts, but it does not appear what was done; it is possible that at that time a corner of the west end of the churchyard was thrown into the roadway, which evidently has been done at some time or other.

In 1864 the churchyard was repaved at a cost of £56, and a rate of 2*d.* in the pound was made to meet this sum.

As we have already noticed, the churchyard was always very small, even more circumscribed than it is at the present time, and as a consequence it was very soon inadequate for the requirements of the parish as a burial ground, and many difficulties and many scandalous proceedings have been the result.

The first evidence of want of space in the churchyard is to be found in the following order of the vestry, promulgated in 1602:—

> An Acte made by a vestrye in the parrishe of the Trinitye Minories London the xii day of decembr 1602.
>
> Because our churche yarde or comon place of buriall w[ithin the] sayd parishe of the trynity minories is but little & not suf[ficient] to burye ou͛ dead if mortalety should happen and for feare l[est the] dead corps therein buried should Infect the lyvinge hereaf[ter] It is ordered & decreed by the sayd vestrye that the dead w^ch^ s[hall] happen to dye from henceforth shalbe buried within the new church y[ard] in bedlem. And further it is ordered by the sayd vestrye that [if the] ffrend of the party deceassed be poor & not able to pay the [charges] due for making the grave then that the church-wardens of ou͛ parishe of the trynitye minoryes shall disburse it out of the purse of the parrishe. Allways provided & excepted that [if an] ancient dweller being head of a howse eyther man or wom[an] shall happen to dye that then it maye be lawfull for him or h[er to be] buried eyther in the church or churcheyarde of the parrishe.

We are indebted to Stowe for the following information in reference to the 'new churchyard in Bedlem.'

> In the year 1569, Sir Thomas Roe, merchant-tailor, mayor, caused to be inclosed with a wall of brick, about one acre of

ground, being part of the said hospital of Bethlehem; to wit, on the west, on the bank of Deep Ditch, so called, parting the said hospital of Bethlehem from the More field: this he did for burial and ease of such parishes in London as wanted ground convenient within their parishes.

It was fortunate for the parish that they were able to make this arrangement at that time, for the very next year one of those frequently occurring epidemics broke out, which trebled the ordinary death-rate. This was followed at intervals by others of more or less severity, culminating in the great plague of 1665. Whether they were able to make use of 'bedlem' till after that we have no means of ascertaining, for there is no further note on the burial question till 1689. In that year the vestry appear to have adopted a method of making provision for further burials in the churchyard, which they resorted to again in later times, both with regard to the churchyard and the vaults, viz. the wholesale removal of the dead in order to provide space for fresh burials. It is stated that £15 7*s*. was paid 'for emptying the churchyard being 230½ yards square' (probably this means cubic yards) 'of earth at 16*d*. a yard,' and 8*d*. was paid 'for carrying away of 9 load of rubbish out of the two church yards.'

In 1720 they endeavoured to make up, as far as they could, for the smallness of the burial ground by the most careful economy of space, and accordingly at a vestry meeting on November 24 in that year they drew up the following elaborate regulations. All first graves were to be six feet deep.

And to prevent Iregular disposings of the Buriall Grounds of the said parish—It is Order'd by the said Vestry That no other Use shall be made of them than for Burying the Dead, And that the Grave Digger Shall digg the First Grave In the First West Church Yard at the North East Corner of the Said Church Yard as near the North & East Wall as can be And a Second Grave Closs down by ye first Corpes & the same depth & a Third Grave in like manner And not to digg more than one Grave beyond ye Third untill ye First Second & Third Graves are Filled with three Corpes each And in such manner to keep Rainge In Burying all Corpes in the said Church Yard, and to begin in the Second West Church Yard at the South East Corner, and to Digg & Bury in like manner as in the first West Church Yard, And when one Range is so completed then to begin a 2^{d} Rainge & proceed in manner as aforesaid (The Corpes of Children only exepted) which shall be buryed in the most convenient places According to their lengths & where any such Rainges are begun ye Same to be Continued for Such use only & in manner as aforesaid And for True direction to the Grave Digger The Parish Clerk Shall enter in the Buryalls Register The out Side of all Corpes distances from the North Wall of the First West Yard.

Notwithstanding this careful economy of space, the churchyard had once more become so completely filled in 1760 that the parishioners were sorely puzzled as to what expedient could next be tried for providing additional space for burial.

At a vestry held on July 22,

in order to Consider about ye procuring a proper piece of Ground to be made use of as a Burying Ground for this Parish and touching other parish Business The Vestry was now acquainted that M^{r} John Grace of ye parish of S^{t} Botolph Aldgate London Gunner has a piece of Ground lying near Swan Ally in the parish of S^{t} Botolph Aldgate London late in ye occupation of M^{r} Clowes Bourne and Contiguous to this parish and that ye same is a proper piece of Ground for ye above purpose and that ye said M^{r} Grace is willing to Lett ye same to this parish upon Lease to be made Use of as a Burying Ground and hath proposed to Lett ye same to this parish from ye 19th inst for the term of 41 years determinable at ye end of ye first 11. 21 or 31 years on half a year's warning to be given by ye Tenant at ye yearly Rent of £6. payable Quarterly with Usual Cov^{ts} And to allow ye parish one year's Rent towards Inclosing ye same.

And this parish having an immediate Occasion for another Burying Ground the present being full Upon taking the above proposal into Consideration Unanimously Resolved and Agreed to take ye above piece of Ground upon the afores^{d} Terms of ye s^{d} M^{r} Grace from the said 19th instant.

It would seem that this extraordinary arrangement for burying the dead in ground unconsecrated and only held on a lease was not carried out, for two years later, in October

1762, we find a statement that there was 'Spent at Sundry times Attending To Treet with the Churchwardens of Aldgate Parish for a piece of Ground 0 . 12 . 0.' But these negotiations also came to nothing, for on November 11 the whole question was reconsidered

> At a Vestry held [on that day] to Consult whether it will be more for the benefit of this parish to hire a piece of Ground to bury in or to make room for future Burials in ye present Church Yard The Vestry upon Debate & full Consid^{n} had of ye above Matter Unanimously Declared it as their Opin^{n} that it will be more for the benefit of ye parish to make Room for future Burials in ye present Church Yard by a Removal of ye Corps in ye same and Resolved upon & ordered ye same accordingly. And it is ordered that the Vestry Clerk do immediately apply for & procure a Faculty for ye same being done.

The faculty was obtained at a cost of £14 18*s.* 6*d.*, and, as on February 10, 1763, a rate of 9*d.* in the pound was made 'for Defraying the Expenses of making Room in the Church Yard for Burialls, and obtaining a Faculty for ye same,' it is to be presumed that for the second time the churchyard was emptied of its dead, but how they were disposed of it is difficult to imagine. In 1786 the parishioners were again in difficulties, and they once more put their heads together to devise a remedy. At a vestry held on September 6 'it was moved and seconded that the Square as inclosed with Iron pallisadoes (called Haydon Square) should be made use off as a Buriall Ground for the deceased.' The vestry, however, adjourned without coming to a decision, in order that a case might be laid before them, whether the advice of a doctor of laws should be taken on the above subject or not.

At the next vestry, held on September 26,

> a Case was produced and laid before this Vestry And on the above Question being moved the same was rejected And a Motion being made and seconded that the Square sho^{d} be made use of as a Buriall Ground without laying any case before a Doctor of Laws the same was carried in the Affirmative by a Majority.

But the vestry were no longer able to decide a question of this kind on their own authority; they had delegated their powers by having themselves obtained in 1771 an Act of Parliament, constituting a Commission of Pavements, and this body, though probably consisting of members of this vestry, decided that Haydon Square should not be used as a burial ground.

Among the minutes of this commission we find the following:—

> 3 October 1786, At a Meeting Held this day by the Commissioners Appointed by Virtue of an Act of Parliament Intitled an Act for The Better Paving Cleaning Lighting and Watching Haydon Square & c^r In Consequence of a Resolution Come to at a Public Vestry held on Tuesday last the 26th September in the Church of Trinity Minories That the First Corpse Brought for Burial in this Parish Shoud be Buried Within the Iron Railing of Haydon Square whitch Resolution Being Illegal and Contrary to the a Bove Recited Act.
>
> Resolved that the Following Notises be sent by the Clark to Minister Church Wardens and Overseers of this Parish.
>
> To the Minister.
>
> At a meeting held this day in the Vestry Room of Trinity Minories by the Commissioners appointed etc. It was Resolved to send you Notice that you do not Yourself nor by your Substitute Presume to Bury any Corpes within the Iron Railing of Haydon Square in the said Parish it being Illegal & Contrary to the above recited Act.
>
> To the Church Wardens and overseers.
>
> At a Meeting &c. &c. It was Resolved to send you Notice that You do not Break or cause to be Broke up any of the Ground within side of the Iron Railing &c.——

In 1825 a proposition was made to purchase a piece of ground, to the east of the churchyard, from the East India Company, but, on an application being made to the company they replied that they did

> not see it practicable to comply with the said Request without rendering the whole of the Premises useless to the Company as the whole of the ground on which the Dwelling Houses stand is required for carrying into effect an arrangement now in the Contemplation of the Committee for the General Improvement of the Companys Warehouses in Haydon Square.

This was the last attempt made to increase the area of the burial ground, but as things could not continue as they were, two years later it was thought advisable to try and prevent, as far as possible, the burial of non-parishioners. On April 25, 1827,

> It appearing necessary to limit the burials in the Church yard of this Parish as to Foreigners in order to have room for the parishioners themselves and it being thought proper so to do It was moved seconded and ordered that proper steps be taken to ascertain more accurately the room now vacant in order that every saving be made of the Ground for the use of the parish.
>
> It was [subsequently] ordered that the Beadle do in all future burials consult the Minister or Churchwardens before breaking the ground, on pain of dismissal.

The practice, however, of burying strangers apparently still continued as before, and on January 18, 1831, another resolution was passed on the subject.

> The inconvenience of burying Strangers being found to interfere greatly with the pavement in the Church Yard to its great detriment. It was moved, seconded and ordered that no persons save parishioners shall be buried on the south side of the Church Yard for the time to come until a further order of Vestry or unless the Church Wardens for the time being see occasion to alter the same and then to report same to the next Vestry for their consideration.

In 1847 an endeavour was made to put a further check upon burying in the 'South Ground' of the churchyard by raising the parish fee to a guinea,

> in order if possible to deter Burials taking place there for the following reasons namely 1st In consequence of there being a Public thoroughfare over the said Ground and thereby very inconvenient to the Public 2ndly It being very unpleasant to the occupiers of the Houses having the Graves dug there some being immediately in front of their Doors and 3rdly in consequence of the Interments there causing a great expense to the Parish by the Church Warden having perpetually to repave the Church Yard not only after every Funeral taking place but at other times in consequence of the Earth some time afterwards sinking and thereby causing the Pavement to be very uneven and in consequence thereby becoming dangerous to the Public.

A few years later the Metropolitan Interment Act relieved the vestry of all further trouble with regard to burials. The last burial in the churchyard took place on May 9, 1852.

There are only two recorded instances of a tomb or a vault being constructed in the churchyard.

In 1712, in accordance with an order of the parish, the churchwardens consented

> that Henry Bassindine may Erect a Tomb Stone of Brick and Stone in ye Church Yard at ye West end of this Parish Church against the Church Wall in and over the door way into the Vault under the North Side of the Church, And the said Tomb when Built be and remain a Burying Place for ye use of ye said Henry Bassindine and his heirs for ever He and they Repairing & maintaining the Same and Paying the Fees for burying in that Church Yard.

And again, at a vestry held on May 23, 1723, it was resolved that

> Whereas the present Upper Church Warden M^r^ Peter Cooke, hath exprest a Desire that ye Spott of Ground, between ye two South Doors into ye Church might be reserved & granted to him for a Grave for himself & his Wife, at their respective deceases. This Vestry in Consideration of ye Longe-Service, And Faithfull discharge of Offices by ye said M^r^ Peter Cooke do hereby Order that ye said place shall be reserved for y^t^ Purpose and y^t^ a new Stone be lay'd there at ye Charge of ye Parish, the old one being broke.

There a vault was constructed, in which Mr. Cooke was buried in 1734, and his wife in 1741.

Nothing now marks either of these burial-places.

BURIALS IN THE CHURCH AND VAULTS THEREIN

Burials within the church had been customary from very early times. In the list of persons of noble blood who were buried in the Minories previously to the dissolution of the abbey, most of them are stated to have been laid to rest in the church, the majority in the chancel.

In the parochial registers there are frequent notices of burials having taken place 'in the chancell' or 'between the pews,' sometimes 'in the pews' or 'under the gallery.'

A few grave-stones (though none of pre-Reformation date) still mark the spots beneath which the graves once were.

When the restoration of the church was taken in hand in 1706, a resolution was passed, 'That convenient vaults be made to extend the breadth of the Church as far as the Chancel.' In the carrying out of this resolution the greater part of the ground beneath the church must have been excavated, and it seems impossible that this can have been done without the removal of the remains of those who had, during the past centuries, been buried there.

One vault had been made earlier than this, for the registers record that on October 10, 1670, 'Colonell William Legg . . . was buried in a vault in the Chancell.' There is nothing to show by what authority, or by whom, this work was carried out. It is possible that it had been done by Colonel Legg himself, at the time that he was Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, or[1] more probably a crypt had been constructed under the chancel when the church was originally built, and Colonel Legg took possession of the northern portion of it, and it was this vault that became the burial-place of his family for many generations. The two vaults, which were made by order of the vestry, were afterwards known as the north and south vaults. They occupied together the whole of the space under the church from the chancel to the west end, being separated by a wall running from east to west, but there was an archway in this wall through which it was possible to pass from one to the other.

In addition to these there was a fourth vault, called the south-east vault, by the side of that belonging to the Legg family, and occupying the remaining ground under the chancel. This would be the southern portion of the original crypt, assuming that such existed. There was also a way through from this vault into the south vault, probably cut through at a later time.

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[1] If we are right in this conjecture, then the bodies said to have been buried in the chancel must have been laid beneath the floor of the crypt, and in that case they still lie there.

This south chancel vault was granted to Daniel King, Esq., and to his heirs under the following order of the vestry :—

At a Vestry held in the parish Church of Trinity Minories this 29th day of May 1708 We the Inhabitants of ye Said parish Doe hereby Impower and Direct Mr Benjamin Gilding and Mr Joshuah Carey the present Church-Wardens To make a Grant of the South East Vault under ye Church Containing in front ten feet 3 Inches and twelve foot in Depth be it more or less to Daniel King Esq to him & his Heirs for ever In Acknowledgment of his great Benefactions towards the Repayring, Beautifying, and Adorning this parish Church.

This order was confirmed at the time of Mr. King's death in 1716 :—

At a Vestry held in the Parish Church this 12th day of December Anno Dni 1716 It was Ordered that the ffolowing Testimonial of Duty and respect to the Memory of Daniel King Esq. lately decd should be made and entred in the Book And a Transcript thereof signed & sealed by the Parishers and presented to Mistress Jane King his Relict and Executrix (viz) To all Christian People, to whom these presents shall come or be seen We the parishioners of the Parish of Trinity Minorys within the Liberty of the Tower of London send Greeting in our Lord God everlasting Whereas . . . [recapitulating the former grant of the Vault]—and Whereas it pleased Almighty God to take to himself the sd Daniel King the 9th day of this Inst December. Now know ye that Wee the said Parishioners in full Vestry assembled upon the melancholy occasion out of our great regard to the Memory of the said Daniel King and Duty and Respect to all his Relations do confirm the said Order &c.

Ann, a daughter of Mr. King, was buried in this vault in 1734, and Jane, his widow, in 1743.

No further burials took place in it until 1770, when it is spoken of as the 'parish chancel vault,' the parish having apparently come to the conclusion that Mr. and Mrs. King and their daughter had had it to themselves long enough.

When the vaults were being constructed, and also in after years, the same difficulties had to be encountered in consequence of previous interments and insufficiency of space as had previously been the case with regard to burials in the churchyard. The first two of the following entries probably refer to the south chancel vault, and their tenor tends to confirm the probability that this vault had been previously in use. It was evidently cleared preparatory to its presentation to Mr. King. The subsequent entries refer to the parish vaults.

Under date June 6, 1706 :—

> paid James for attending the night men when the Vault was Emptied—0 . 0 . 6

and six days later :—

> spent upon the Labourers when they removed Severall Corps in ye night—0 . 5 . 0

On December 20, 1707 :—

> pd for emptying the parish valt—0 . 12 . 0

In 1732 there was

> Spent at a meeting at Mr Fishers about calling a Vestry to remove Dead 0 . 5 . 0

And at a vestry held a few weeks later

> It was agreed That ye Coffins of ye North & South Vaults be put into better order for ye better Stowage of more Coffins hereafter in ye Said Vaults

This cost £5.

In 1758 there was paid

> for Cleaning and burying the Bones in ye Vault—0 . 2 . 3

And the next year :—

To expenses Cleaning the South Vault such as Drink .	0 . 8 . 8.
Candles .	0 . 1 . 0.
five men two nights	2 . 5 . 6.
	2 . 15 . 2.

A still more scandalous disregard for the sanctity of the dead was brought to light in 1786. It was discovered that the beadle, with the connivance, if not at the instigation of some of the parishioners, was sawing up the coffins in the vault in order that he might appropriate the wood of which they were made for his own purposes ; tradition relates that with some of the boards he repaired the floors in his own house, and in consequence his son caught a fever of which he died. The indignation felt at these proceedings was expressed at the time in certain leaflets, copies of which are extant, and were given to the author by the daughter of a former pew-opener. These tell their own story.

To the INHABITANTS of *Trinity-Minories*

AND it came to pass that in the Month of September 1786 there were great Murmurings and Discontent in the Parish of Trinity-Minories, concerning the DEAD.

For behold there were certain Great Men in the above Parish, whose names we call *Elder, Lapidary, Shavings, and Burn Crust.*

Now it so happened, that these People said one to another 'Let us deal wisely, and do something of ourselves unknown to the Parish at large.'

Then these *Bretheren of good Deeds* retired to the Parish Vault, among the remains of many old Parishioners, who were deposited there by their friends to rest quietly.

And after these *Bretheren* had examined the Place, they said one to another, 'Let us send for the Coal-Dealer, whom we have falsely chosen our Servant, and give Directions to him how he is to act in this iniquitous Transaction.'

Then said the *Great Elder* to Coal-Dealer 'Dig Holes, and knock the Coffins to Pieces, and bury the bones, as then you will have a favorable opportunity of dealing in *Wood* also.'

Accordingly *Coal-Dealer* set to work, and in a few Days made great Havock among the DEAD.

And it came to pass, as Coal-Dealer was just in the Midst of his Glory, the Neighbours espied him taking sides of Coffins home to his House, and then cut them to pieces for Fire-Wood.

The Neighbours then went and informed the *Pillar of the Church* of it, who demanded the Keys of *Coal-Dealer*, and ordered the Bell to toll, to call the Inhabitants together to inquire into *Coal-Dealer's* and his *Bretherens* Conduct.

And when the Parishioners were met, the Vault was opened, and to the utter Astonishment of every Beholder (but *Coal-Dealer's* Acquaintance) they saw several Limbs lie in different Parts of the Vault with perfect Flesh on, cut and mangled in too shocking a Manner to relate! and Some Scores of Coffins removed and knocked to Pieces!

Among the many that were in the Vault to examine these wicked Proceedings there was one *Whalebone* a very opulent Man in the Parish, whose wife was deposited there about three Years since; and when he came to the Place where she was laid, he found the Corps removed! He then exclaimed, with a loud Voice, 'By Heavens! Friends and Brethren, if you do not immediately find me a Wife, dead or alive, I will cite you all to the Commons!'

They then ascended from the Vault, and repaired to the Aile of the Church, where *Burn Crust* had assembled a great Number of *Coal-Dealer's* Friends, among whom were two *Jews* and a *Broken-headed Bailiff*, who came purposely to support this iniquitous Transaction!

Now when *Coal-Dealer's* Friends that were present came to be examined into, there was not one among them that ever came to Church, but to breed a Disturbance among the Parishioners.

Then the *Pillar of the Church* opened the Business of the Meeting, and with great Force, and Energy, painted out the Transaction in very pointed Colours, and declared he would cite *Coal-Dealer* to the Commons, provided the Majority of the Parish was for his so doing.

Then arose *Burn Crust* and made a most elaborate Speech, by saying, 'That he challenged the whole Company then present to prove that *Coal-Dealer* had ever broke-up Coffins, or mangled the Bodies, as appeared in the Vault;' and further said, 'That what *Coal-Dealer* had done, was no more than a Man's going through a Pea-Field, and plucking a Pod.'

And it came to pass, that *Burn Crust* was right in his first Assertion; for how was it possible for any one to see him, when he locked himself in, and did the greatest Part of the Mischief by Night?

Then behold another *Learned Gentleman* got up, whose name is not a mile from *Eaton* and made a pleasing, interesting Speech, in Favor of *Coal-Dealer* by asking *Shavings*, 'If Knots in Coffins would not last longer than any other Part.'—This being answered in the Affirmative, he sat down, and said 'He could by no Means see that the Man had been doing any Harm!'

Then arose a very fine sensible Man in Black, whom they call *Shortcut*, and said, with a very audible Voice, 'Gentlemen, I cannot conceive that this Man has done the least Harm; for if you go to *Bishopsgate* Bone-House, you may buy a Cart-Load of Coffins for a trifle!'—After he had delivered this noble Speech, he sat down.

And as there was no Opposition to all these sensible Speeches, on Account of the Parish not being able to prove seeing *Coal-*

Dealer do the Mischief, *Burn Crust's* Conscience began to touch him, and he could no longer take the side of Villainy; he therefore made a Motion, 'That *Coal-Dealer* do ask Pardon of the Gentlemen then present for what he had done, and promise never to do the like again.' *Coal-Dealer* did so and the Matter was carried *Nem. Con.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

In a short Time will be wanted, a Piece of Ground in a private Situation for the Purpose of a Burial-Ground for the Use of the Parish of *Trinity Minories*, the Vaults of the Church being considered Useless from the following Circumstance; A few Days ago Curiosity invited an Inhabitant of the aforesaid Parish to take a Peep into his Neighbours Premises, where, to his utter Astonishment, he discovered M^r^ *Smallcole*, the Beadle, dividing into Lengths with a Saw, some of the late Inhabitants undecayed last Surtouts; this induced him to call one of the Churchwardens to View the industrious Dealer; M^r^ Churchwarden being rather alarm'd ordered M^r^ *Smallcole* to give up the Keys of the Parish Wood Warehouse (for I can give it no other Name) and toll the Bell to invite the Inhabitants to a Sight of a Repository for old Timber and mangled Bodies:—when the Door of the Warehouse was opened the most shocking Sight my Eyes ever beheld presented itself to view, it had a nearer Resemblance to a Slaughter-House than a Vault for the Interment of our dearest Friends: on the Lid of a Coffin there appeared the hind Quarters of an old Inhabitant who had not been intered more than eight Months; M^r^ Churchwarden being desirous of proving to the World that he was not a Colleague in the *Wood Trade*, draws the Remains of another human Body from the Top of some of the other Coffins, with the Flesh hanging to the Bones: after the Inhabitants had taken a survey of their Friends and Relations in the Situation above described, they retired to the Aile of the Church, and there, to the Disgrace of all Society, contented themselves with ordering M^r^ *Smallcole* to ask Pardon and not to be guilty of the like again: this being a Fact, I should not wonder to hear of the Undertakers being obliged to seek some other Employ, as Coffins are of so little Use and attended with so much Expence.

An INHABITANT

September 19, 1786.

N.B. The principle Supporters of M^r^ *Smallcole* are *Jews*, and a Sect of People known in the Parish by the Term of *Speckled Bellies*.

THE
TRINITY-MINORIES

All in an Uproar;

or,

The Small-Coal-Man
Turn'd Resurrection-Monger.

'Tis of the Minories I Sing,
And to relate a dreadful thing,
To raise the Dead, oh! what a sin,
Small-Coal the man that did the thing.

'Twas with a spade he cut one through,
And saw'd another right in two;
The coffins old he also burnt,
The Devil surely will him haunt.

Tapster the man that did him view,
And through a crevice see'd him too,
Cut and slash among the dead,
I wish that he had broke his head.

A vestry straightway then was call'd,
And through the parish it was baul'd,
Burn-crust the man that took his part,
Which since has caus'd an aching heart.

Short-Cut and Chip with many more,
Which countenanc'd this son of a whore,
For raising the dead, and doing of evil,
I really believe they're a match for the Devil.

When Small-Coal is dead and in his grave,
May he not of rest one moment have,
His bones ta'en up, his coffin burnt,
And all such rascals may he haunt.

In 1824 we again find a note of the 'Clearing the Vaults,' and in 1844 the 'Expenses attending the Cleansing of the Vault' amounted to £35 10*s*. At this time the incumbent is stated to have reported to the vestry that the vaults were in a 'dreadful state,' and he referred 'to what had appeared in some of the newspapers.'

Sixteen years later (1860), all the vaults were filled in with earth and charcoal and the entrances bricked up.

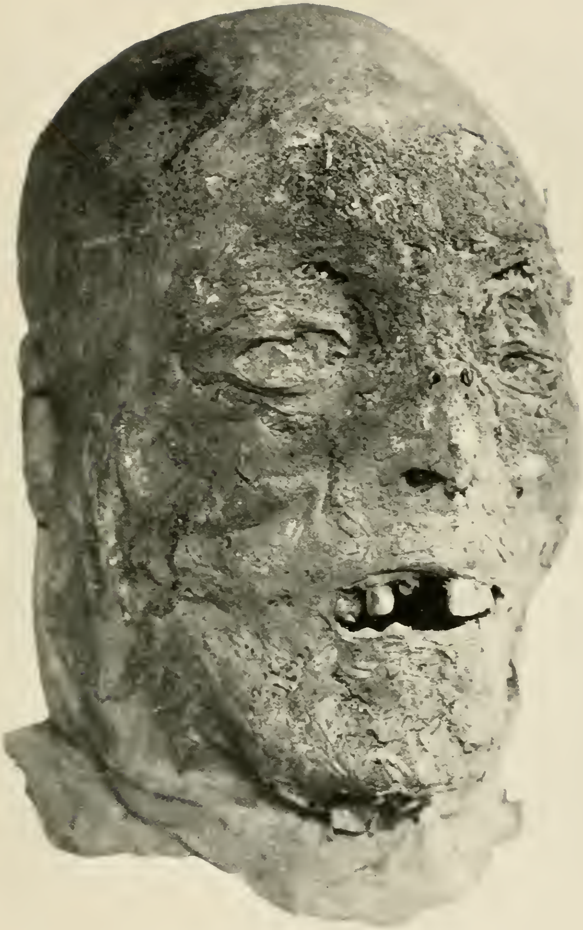
During one of the operations of cleansing the vaults, about the year 1851, a mummified head was discovered, which, it was suggested, might have been the head of the Duke of Suffolk, but there is no ground whatever for such a supposition, and there are many reasons conducing to its improbability. First of all there is no evidence whatever that his head was buried in the Minories; then the shape of the head is totally unlike the existing portraits of the Duke; then again contemporary records assert that the Duke's head was severed with one blow of the axe, whereas on the back of the neck of this head there are two distinct cuts.

The only individual who is known to have been buried in the Minories after execution, was Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who was beheaded in 1513, but it is hardly conceivable, though perhaps possible, that the head of either Edmund de la Pole, or of Henry, Duke of Suffolk, can have survived the repeated processes of cleansing and recleansing the vaults, through so many years; it is more probable that it is a relic of the mutilations recorded above, perpetrated by the beadle and his friends in 1786. Bodies have been found in the vaults of other City churches which have been preserved in a similar way, and where no artificial means had been used for their preservation.

The head was placed by the author in a glass case, and it has lately been removed to St. Botolph's Aldgate.

Another subject, bearing upon the question of burials, to which incidental references are to be found, is that arising out of the law, passed in 1666, for the better encouragement of the woollen industry, that all bodies must be buried in wool.

In 1689, 6*s*. 6*d*. was paid 'for a coffin & wooll to bury Rich^{d} Daniell in.'



MUMMIFIED HEAD.

In 1700, 'p^{d} the Searchers & for a coffin & Grave & wooll for buring ye Child, —4—'

In 1734, 'p^{d} for M^{rs} Murry's Oth to Qualify her for a Searcher.'

[The Searchers were evidently employed to examine and certify whether the requirements of the law were fulfilled.]

There are also numerous entries of the sums paid for the privilege of burying friends and relations in linen. These fees were paid to the churchwardens, who added them to the poor's money.

CHAPTER XV

PAROCHIAL ORGANISATION AND GOVERNMENT

The Vestry—Its constitution—Its officers—Parish funds—Parish property

THE VESTRY

THE governing body of the parish of the Minories was, from the earliest days of its constitution, the Vestry.

In theory, at all events, all parishioners were members of the vestry, and had a right of attending and voting at the meetings. But, on the other hand, though there is no indication of any formal selection or appointment of a portion only of the inhabitants, it is nevertheless clear that in practice a certain number of the parishioners did contrive, certainly at some periods, to limit the membership. In a return made by the incumbent and one of the churchwardens to the Court of the Star Chamber in 1635 it is stated that the vestry

> at their general meetings, and especially about Easter for the choosing of Church Officers, caused as many of the Inhabitants to assemble as they thought fit, to consult about such matters, excluding none that were able,

thereby acknowledging that such as were not thought able were excluded from the meetings.

It would also seem that for some of the business, such as nomination of the parochial officers, and auditing the accounts, the entire vestry were not summoned, but only those who were styled ‘Antients.’ The ‘Antients’ were those who had already filled the higher offices. In 1827, however, a resolution was passed ‘that all persons should be considered as the Antients eligible to attend the meetings and auditing the accounts of the Parish who have served two years as overseer.’

In later times again, the passing of Acts of Parliament necessitated the appointment of some members of the vestry to act as representatives on other bodies, and also the delegation of certain duties to regularly appointed committees among themselves. In the year 1750 there were nominated 'three of the most Substantial and Discreet persons residing in the said parish duly Qualified to be Commissioners of the Court of requests for the Tower Hamlets for the said year as the law directs.' And in 1770 'Proper Persons Duly Qualified to be Guardians to the Parish Poor Children belonging to this Parish Pursuant to the Directions of an Act of Parliament made in the Seventh year of the Reign of his Present Majesty Intitled &c.,' were appointed. So in 1770, in accordance with an Act of Parliament, to which we shall have to refer again, commissioners were appointed for paving, cleansing, lighting, and watching the parish.

In 1857, under the powers of the Metropolitan Management Act as to electing vestrymen and auditors, it was arranged that a portion only of the parishioners should be elected vestrymen, and that one-third of the members should go out of office annually; but it was soon found that this reduced the working vestry to too small a compass, and the ancient usage, that all ratepayers should be entitled to attend the meetings, was resumed.

The following, under date 1568, is the first record of a vestry meeting and its transactions:—

The last Accompt

Be it known that this accompte was taken of thomas bean and John hiedes upon saturday the xii^th^ of ffebruary w^th^in our chyrche called the trenytyes w^t^in the mynories beinge p^r^sente ther at the saide accompte mark antony galyardo gentleman James pargeter gentleman John blooke Richard moore and Walter Heines our mynester an^o^ 1568.

Hereafter followeth the recetes & leainge out of the inhabiters of the Mineris for there Duties to the churche and to the minister w^ch^ we have reseved being churchwardens M^r^ Mark antony gallyard gentelman and Richard more churchwardens of the same parish called the trinitye w^th^in the minerie as here after folloethe in our acounte w^{ch} was from anno domini 1568 unto anno domini 15610[1] and here we geve by our accounte finis.

Until the year 1596 there is not again any mention of the minister being present at a meeting, but from that time the signature of one of the clergy (as a rule that of the incumbent, but sometimes that of the curate or preacher) is generally appended to the minutes of proceedings; and when present, with two exceptions, he invariably signs his name first, from which we may fairly conclude that he was the recognised chairman of the vestry. The two occasions when another name appears above that of the minister were in 1631, and the signature is that of Sir John Heydon.

Sir John Heydon was the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and these are the only instances of one of those high functionaries attending a vestry meeting; but Sir John having, for some purpose or other, condescended so to do, he evidently thought he had the right to take precedence over everyone else there present, not excluding the minister.

In 1614 it is stated that the churchwarden 'hath delivered up a true accompt to the minister and the pishioners,' a statement which again implies that the minister was recognised as holding a position of authority in the parish matters.

It is perhaps a little remarkable, when we consider the peculiar status of the minister with regard to the parishioners, that they accorded to him without demur the chairmanship of the vestry.

Until 1818 the votes of the parishioners had always been given in person, but on October 1 in that year 'A Question was put and debated as to admitting Votes by Proxy particularly as many of the Inhabitants were Jews and prevented attending in person by reason of an existing Festival when it was carried unanimously that votes by proxy be received on the present occasion.'

No parishioner was ever allowed to vote if he had not paid his rates. On one occasion a meeting had to be 'adjourned sine die without doing any business because a gentleman was ordered to leave the vestry (not having paid his rates) which he refused to do.'

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[1] See p. 163.

THE PAROCHIAL OFFICERS

The Officers, upon whom devolved the duty of carrying out the behests of the Vestry, consisted originally of the

Upper and Under Churchwardens,
Constable,
2 Scavengers (in later times there was only one),
'Vitler' and Gatekeeper,
6 Collectors.

In 1594 the office of 'Sydeman' was introduced, and in 1596, in addition to the Collectors for the poor, a 'Supervisor' (afterwards called Overseer) was elected; subsequently a second overseer was added to the list.

In addition to these, though not alluded to in the earliest records, were the Headborough, the Parish Clerk, the Beadle and Sexton; and, in more modern times still, the Vestry Clerk, Organist, Keeper of the fire engine, and a Watchman.

At first all officers were elected to serve for two years, but afterwards all appointments were made annually.

No parishioner who had been appointed to any office was considered at liberty to decline to serve; it became customary, however, to allow him, if he did not wish to undertake the duties, to find a substitute, or he was freed from all liability on payment of a fine. The earliest notice of this is in 1611:—

> The same daie Robert ffolkes of the same pish hath undertaken for consideration of ffortie shillinge to be paid unto him by the aforesaid Olyver Lorson . . . . to discharge him the said Olyver pforming the said condisons is there upon discharged.

Then under date April 30, 1662:—

> Att a vestry then holden in ye Chancell of ye Parish Church of the Trinity Minories Middlesex Wee whose names are here underwritten of ye Sayd parish and vestry for ourselves & In ye name of ye whole pish have Receved then & there ye Day & yeare above written of John Stackhouse of ye same parish marche-taylor ye summe of Eight pounds of Current Money of England for ye use of ye Sayd Parish In ffull for a fine according to agreement made w^th^ ye Sayd John Stackhouse at a vestry holden &c.

Whereby wee doe acquitt and discharge the sayd . . . . from all offices . . . . overseer of the poore, Headborough, Constable, Sideman and Church Warden.

From this time notices of fines, paid for exemption from serving offices, are of frequent occurrence; £8 being the usual sum paid for being excused from all offices, lesser sums being paid if exemption were asked from a portion only. The following are specimens of entries in reference to these fines:—

1676.

Memorandum that in consideracon of M^r^ Arthur Rowland care and expenses in visitinge Severall poore families of this pish Amountinge to the sum of three pounds as also for former care in the visitacon time &c it is ordered that the s^d^ M^r^ Rowland be for ever free of bearing of the office of Constable & Headborough in this pish.

1679

M^r^ Robert Mordant excused from serving all offices of overseer for ye poor Headborough Constable, Sydeman, & Churchwarden on payment of a fine of £5.

Memorandum y^t^ ye Sayd M^r^ Mordant beinge aged above 70 years ye pish have thought fitt to accept of this small fine, but that this bee nott taken for a president hereafter.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was thought necessary to increase the amount of the fines.

At a Vestry houlden ye 18: day of feby $170\frac{2}{3}$ In ye parrish Church of Trinity Minories Wee the Inhabitants of the said Parish Considering that ye smallness of the present fines of the parish officers is rather an Incouragement to the Inhabitants to fine than serve the said offices by which means in a short time The said parish may be under great difficulty & Inconveniancys in ye choice of proper officers Therefore we the said Inhabitants for the preventing of ye same do order direct and appoint the severel sums of money for ye fines of the respective offices shall for ever be as followeth viz: for upper Churchwarden the sum of four pounds for under Churchwarden three pounds for overseer of the poor four pounds for Constable four pounds or Headborough three pounds And in case any of ye aforesaid Inhabitance shall think fitt to fine all the said offices at once then such person shall only pay the sum of fifteen pounds for the whole.

In 1720 a fine of 40*s.* was paid for not serving the office of scavenger.

This scale of fines pressed rather heavily upon some of the poorer parishioners, who, equally with their richer neighbours, desired to be relieved of the burden of serving the offices; under these circumstances some kind-hearted churchwardens took upon themselves occasionally to remit portions of the fines. For this they were severely called to account. At a vestry held May 11, 1727, the fines for not serving parish offices were restated, and it was agreed that

> Whereas severall Churchwardens for this parish notwithstanding the said Act of Vestry have dispensed with the same and have taken less Fines for Severall of the said respective offices than what is prescribed and Settled by the said Act of Vestry to the great detrement of this parish Now therefore we the said parishioners and Inhabitants of the said parish for the preventing the like Inconveniences for the future Do not only hereby ratify and Confirm the Afores^{d} Act of Vestry for Settling the said Fines But also order and direct that no Church Warden do for the future presume to take a less Fine for any of the said offices than what is prescribed and Settled by the said Act of Vestry upon pain of making good the same to this parish.

In 1739 half a crown was added to each fine, as a fee to the vestry clerk.

In 1774, and again in 1788, the list of fines was revised, when the amount to be paid for exemption from all offices was fixed at £20.

Mention has already been made of the fact that, instead of paying fines to be excused from accepting office, those who had been appointed were sometimes allowed to arrange with others, on the approval of the vestry, to perform the duties for them. In 1743 an attempt was made (but with what success does not appear) to put a stop to this. A resolution was then passed 'that it is the opinion of this vestry that for the future every person who shall be chosen into any office of this parish ought to serve the same in person and not by any hired person or Deputy.'

A little later a new difficulty arose from the steadily decreasing population, and consequently restricted number from whom to select the officials. This arose from the frequent enlargement of the East India Company's warehouses, curtailing the area of inhabited houses, and persons available for office were fewer than they should have been, in consequence of a plea advanced that the servants of the company were not liable to parochial duties like the rest of the inhabitants. This is brought out in a memorial which the vestry presented to the company, in which they set forth their opinion that the company's servants, resident in the parish, should become chargeable like the other inhabitants, and solicited 'a treaty with them for the payment of a fair pecuniary Compensation for the service of the Parish Offices.' The reply of the company to this is not recorded.

Another difficulty arose from the fact that about this period many of the inhabitants were not members of the Church of England. There is a statement in 1836 that 'the overseer offered to serve another year (in consequence of the scarcity of Protestant Inhabitants residing in this Parish).' The word Protestant possibly means Christian as opposed to Jewish, as well as describing those who were not Roman Catholics; but, if this were so, the vestry were so pressed by the want of candidates for office that two years later they appointed a Jewess as overseer,[1] or can it have been that they considered a Jew more eligible than a Roman Catholic?

In 1754 they had not considered that it was improper to appoint a Quaker to the office of churchwarden. The accounts were in that year presented by Ed. Willis, the Under Churchwarden, who was 'one of the people called Quakers,' and it is stated that he affirmed, instead of taking the usual oath, that his accounts were correct.

When the Jewess was overseer she was always represented at the meetings by her brother.

On one occasion an attempt was made to exclude publicans, but with an evident doubtfulness as to their rights in the matter. Under date April 2, 1771, is this curious entry, 'Memorandum, It is agreed in Case an Order of Vestry sho^{d} be found out that a Publican is not to serve the office of

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[1] Every ratepayer, whether a man or a woman, was liable, in days gone by, to be called upon to serve the office of Overseer.

Churchwarden or Overseer we whose names are above Written do Confirm the same.'

The Churchwardens

Of the parish officers above mentioned, the churchwardens of course always held the most prominent positions. Upon them chiefly devolved the general management of the parish affairs.

Up till 1845, both churchwardens were invariably appointed by the parishioners, but in that year a resolution of vestry was carried 'that the choice of the Under Churchwardens should for the future rest with the Incumbent.' This resolution was rescinded in 1851, and the ancient custom has continued in force ever since.

The one churchwarden was always described as the Upper Churchwarden, the other sometimes as the Under Churchwarden, at other times as the Renter Churchwarden, and once in 1573 he is called the 'Strangers' Churchwarden.

In early days the churchwardens were only allowed a very limited discretion with regard to the disbursement of moneys.

In 1578 there is a memorandum

> that this present ii of februarie there is delivered into the hands of the Churchwardens the sum of six pounds and the said Churchwardens not to disburse any money wthout the consent of Six of the cheffest of this parish But if they do that then they shall not be allowed it at their account . . . .

At the same time it was agreed that

> the churchwardens Maie laie out money of them selves so that yt be under the value of twenty Shillinge But not above wthout the consent above written.

These regulations, nevertheless, did not secure the parishioners against loss by the carelessness or defalcations of churchwardens, and it became necessary to insist on each churchwarden giving security for the money that should be intrusted to him while he held office.

In 1592 it was

> generallye agreed upon by ye consent of ye parishioners that by reason of divers losses they have receyved by ye Insuficiensie of

Churchwardens who hath died nothing worth, and also for other causes them thereunto moving that no Churchwarden shall hereafter have the stoke of ye parishe without sufficient surtie for ye accompt and deliverie thereof . . .

As we have stated above, it was probably in consequence of the purloining of the parish moneys that Mr. Williams, the churchwarden, was excommunicated in 1590, and it would seem that his defalcations were the immediate cause of the passing of the above resolution.

Except for these little difficulties in those early days about money matters, there are no instances of the churchwardens, as such, coming into conflict with the rest of the parishioners until 1852, when the vestry 'petitioned the Bishop to remove the two Churchwardens from their office for their misconduct in their duties,' and feeling ran so high that it is recorded that 'the Vestry convened at the Church to discuss their conduct occupied nearly three hours and a half, and a more complete scene of confusion could scarcely be imagined.'

It by no means follows from this that the churchwardens had been guilty of any heinous crimes, the disturbance may have been nothing more than an excessive outburst of party faction. There are many evidences that at this time the vestry was divided into two hostile camps; resolutions of all sorts were being constantly carried by small majorities, and then revoked at the next meeting, when the other side had managed to secure the odd votes.

There was never any salary attached to the office of churchwarden, but in 1597 it was agreed that they 'were to be allowed 5^s for the keepinge of the Register Booke belonginge to the said pishe and for the writing of their $presentm^{ts}$ Accompts & other things.'

THE SCAVENGER

The earliest list of parish officers contains two scavengers, but there was subsequently only one. At first he was appointed annually, but in later times the appointment appears to have been held permanently, until voided by death or other cause. His duties were to superintend the cleansing of the streets, and to see that the orders of the vestry in regard to sanitary matters were properly carried out. He was, in fact, the sanitary inspector. He had under his orders a raker whose duty it was ' to carry away the soil of the pish from the place where the same is accustomed to lay every Satterday or oftener yf need require.'

The Parish Clerk

The importance of the position held by the clerk in days gone by is evidenced by the care that was taken in the selection of candidates when there was a vacancy. Under date ' vicesimo Augusti 1622 ' is the following memorandum :—

> That this day at a vestry holden : The vestry men there did by most voices elect and choose Roger senry to be theire pish clarke for one whole yeare to end at michas 1623 wth caution that if hee prove insufficient or be disliked by the minister & ye more p^{te} of the vestry men then the said Roger senry is to dep^{te} & leave his place of Clerkshipp at χρ̄m̄as next otherwise to continue out his service to thend of the said yeare. And hee doth [receive] for his wages as hath byn accustomed 4^{li} p ann.

The earliest recorded salary of the clerk was xxxiii^{s} iiii^{d}.

On a vacancy in 1766

> it being the opinion of the Major part of ye Vestry that ye Candidates out of ye parish be Admitted. And that they deliver in their names to one of the Churchwardens and each Candidate perform ye Service once in ye Morn^{g} as ye Ch. wardens Shall agree & order.

There was shortly afterwards another vacancy, when it was ' ordered that each candidate have liberty of Officiate one day.'

In 1794 it was agreed that no one should be a candidate for the office who held any other office in the church or parish.

On two occasions the vestry appear to have been more easily satisfied as to the necessary qualifications for the office, for in 1707 they elected the widow of the late clerk, and she was to receive ' all proffitts and perquisities ' except the salary of four pounds paid by the vestry, and twenty shillings of the profits were to be given to a deputy, who was to perform the duties of clerk. A similar arrangement was made in 1735. By 1707, however, the clerkship had ceased to be the valuable post it had been when the clandestine marriages were in full swing.

Once a parish clerk obtained a license from Doctors' Commons, and claimed his office as a freehold for life, but this the vestry firmly resisted, maintaining their right to elect whom they would every year.

Once more we read of a somewhat rebellious clerk, whose

> obstinate character was again alluded to and after the same was canvassed the Vestry Clerk was desired to inform him by letter that his Salary will be reduced provided he does not desist from Singing on Sundays and Fast days when he is requested to leve the whole to the Organist.

In 1586 the vestry paid 1*s.* 6*d.*

> for a Read staff to the Clerk.

The Headborough, Constable, Beadle, and Watchman

There are very few references to the functions of any of these protectors of law and order, and it is not easy to discriminate between the duties that fell to each. We once find, in 1703, that the headborough was paid 'for charges for woman's sitting in the Stocks,' and there is, in 1706, mention of the constable, which seems to imply that he was chief officer of the fire brigade; but, as the only allusion to any particular constable is that there was paid to him 'ye xiiith day of January 1584 by consent of the parish in the Church for that he was in prison twice the yeare vi^{s} iiii^{d},' we must infer that the duties of each of these officials were well understood, and that no serious questions of dispute ever arose concerning them or the amount of their salaries.

In 1734 the beadle was appointed a second headborough, and in 1840 the office of headborough ceased to exist altogether, and at the same time those of constable and beadle were united, the duties of sexton having been added to those of the beadle in 1835. A little later those of clerk were added as well.

When the amalgamation was effected in 1835, the duties of the combined office of beadle and sexton were thus defined:

> To attend all the commands of the Church warden Overseer and Vestry Clerk.
>
> To attend all Church Meetings and the Clergyman particularly and when on duty to wear the Parish Livery.
>
> To attend to the Quarter Sessions and Leet Juries when necessary.
>
> To attend to the Engine and see it is always in readiness for use and to use exertion in case of fire.
>
> In case of Deaths to cause the Bell to be tolled and to inform the Churchwarden thereof and to see to the proper graves being used.
>
> To assist the parish Clerk in all Weddings Notices &c &c.
>
> To light the fires in proper time so as to avoid Smoke as much as possible.
>
> To see that no Noise or disturbance is occasioned in the Church or in the Churchyard during Divine Service.
>
> To see the Church yard is kept clean.
>
> To see the Church Clock wound up Daily.

In earlier times we find mention of the beadle as 'conducting paupers to the workhouse,' 'taking persons to the Justices to be examined,' 'and removing the children in the street.' But in later days the question of his clothes and other paraphernalia was more often before the vestry than the performance of his duties. In 1735 there was paid 'for the Beetles Coat, Making Lace & buttons £2. 10. 0.' In 1764 the 'Laced Hatt for Bedel' cost £1 16*s*. 6*d*., and his coat £5 15*s*. 6*d*. In 1795 'it was resolved to purchase a Cloak for the Beadle,' but the motion was afterwards rescinded 'on account of the high price it would cost.' In 1764 the vestry purchased a staff for the beadle, for the sum of 5*s*. 6*d*., and a crown to it for 6*s*.

In 1789 they bought a silver head for the staff for £8. This still exists, and has, with other church property, been removed to Aldgate. The crown, which surmounts it, was most probably emblematical of the connection of the parish with the Royal Liberty of the Tower.

It is very rarely that any questions in regard to the watchman came before the vestry. The following are all that we have met with :—

Nov^r 13, 1713, Severall of ye Inhabitants moved yt in regard to ye Age & disabilities of ye present Watchmen, another Watchman might be added to them, Whereupon William Smith of this Parish being nominated as a proper person for the same he was unanimously chosen Watchman accordingly Resolved that this Vestry will allow this Watchman Eight pounds per ann : for his Services which shall be raised by an additional Rate in the Constable's books in Such manner as this Vestry Shall think fit.

Dec^r 7, 1730 Paid at Lamperers, In reconciling a Quarrel yt happened between our Watchmen 1^s 3^d.

Sep 13, 1733 Gave Edw^d Edwards ye Watchman in Ilness w^n abused by some persons on his duty —6^s—

Sep 14 1733 Expenses at M^r Fishers wth some of ye Antients of ye Parish upon ye affair of ye aforesaid Edward Edwards—7^s—

In 1771 the duty of providing for the watching of the parish was transferred by Act of Parliament to the Commissioners of Pavements, and in the minutes of proceedings of this body there are frequent references to the employment and the payment of the watchmen.

In 1830 the system of parochial watching was superseded by the establishment of the police force, and in that year we find that 'the Old Watchouse was ordered to be removed and such of the Watch houses as may be found.'

Under dates October 1803, November 1831, and April 1848, there are notices of applications being made to the parish, asking for the names of householders willing to serve as special constables, requests which received on each occasion a ready response : in 1831 it is added 'with ample expressions of loyalty to the State.'

The 'Vitler' and Gatekeeper

Among the offices that figure in our list is that of the 'Vitler,' and there can be no doubt whatever that this personage was the publican, and that the parishioners rested their claim to make such an appointment on their privileges as inhabitants of a peculiar ; there is no evidence that, for some time at all events, their rights in this respect were disputed. When these were lost or given up does not appear, but we find no references to the subject after the beginning of the seventeenth century. The first entry relating thereto is under date 'The seconde daye of July 1596':—

Touchinge the Appointinge of the Vitler & keepinge of the Gates of ye Minories

At a vestrie houlden w^th^in the pishe of the Trinitie Minories.

Whereas the place of the vitler w^th^in the p^r^cinct of the said pishe is lately become voyde by the death of Robert Hopkins deceased and that the disposing of ye same hath always heretofore bine & now is in the pyshioners hands It is agreed by us the said pyshioners whose names are under written at the request and sute of the Widowe of the said Robert Hopkins in regarde of her reliefe & maintenance & in consideracо̄n of v^s^ to be paid weekly by Gregory Hopkins by sixe pence a week unto the churchwardens of the said pishe for the time being, that the said Gregory Hopkins shalbe the vitler w^th^in the said pishe and p^r^cinct of the Trinitie Minories, and none other (during the pleasure of the said pishioners). And also because it hath bine acustumed that whosoever should be the vitler within the said pishe should also have the charge and keepinge of the keys of the gate belonginge to the said pishe. It is likewise ordered and agreed he shall have also the custody of the said keys duringe the time that he shalbe vitler within the said pishe. Soe as he use not anie other hours for the openinge and shuttinge of the said gate then hath bine and appointed and is acustomed for the saffety and assurannce of the Inhabitants & pishioners of the said pishe & p cincte. That is to say In the Sommer At night to shutt the said gate at Tenne of the clocke, & in the Winter at nyne and at noe other hour except the necessary & urgent occasions of the Inhabitants of the said pishe do require the contrarie.

The next year it is stated that:—

Whereas Gregorie Hopkins late the vitler w^th^in the pishe of the Trinitie Minories hath yealded and given up the same into the hands of the pishioners of the same to whom the disposition thereof of right doth belonge It is agreed that Robert Mott shalbe (during the pleasures of the said pishioners) the vitler only w^th^in the said pishe And that in consideration thereof the said Robert Mott is to paie Sixe shillinges by vi^d^ a monethe to the use of the pore of the saide pishe.

The same year in which Gregory Hopkins was appointed vitler he gave £12 to the churchwardens towards the maintenance of an orphan child whom the parish had to support, and it seems not improbable that this gift had some connection with his appointment as vitler.

The amount given for the 'vitlers place' seems always to have been the same, viz.: 6*s*. paid to the churchwardens for the use of the poor.

As long as the duties of gatekeeper were performed by the 'vitler' no salary was paid for these services, as his work in this respect was considered part of the payment for his monopoly. When, in 1601, a gatekeeper, who was not the publican, was appointed for a year, he received 'ffortie shillinge.'

THE VESTRY CLERK.

The first mention of a Vestry Clerk is in 1733, when Mr. James Hilton was chosen to fill that office at a salary of 40*s*. per annum.

In 1744 it was 'resolved that In consideration that the business of the Parish to be done by the Vestry Clerk is Increased (by means of the late Act of Parliament) the said Vestry Clerks Sallary be Raised to Four pounds a year.'

The salary was raised at different times till, in 1827, it reached the amount at which it stood when the office became extinct, viz. £40 per annum.

At a vestry meeting held in 1784, for the purpose of electing a vestry clerk, the following resolution was passed, setting forth what the duties of a vestry clerk were:—

That the Business to be done by the Vestry Clerk is for a certain Salary as herein after mentioned (that is to say) To take down all Examinations of Paupers, Attend Justices on the same Summonses, To make all Rate Books, and cast up the same, and Attend all new Officers, to Summons Defaulters every year or oftener if required and attend the Justices on the same And attend all publick Vestry's and what business is there wanted to be done, And all Parish Business that may have occasion for a Vestry Clerk to do. To Summons the Guardians every six Weeks which Businesses are to be done at £15 per Annum But all Books Stamps and Appeals to be paid Extra for by the Parish.

The Parish Funds

In preceding chapters we have already had occasion to deal with parochial expenditure under more than one head, but in this place it is necessary to say a few words, and make some references, bearing upon the question of the parish funds in general.

These were, in the sixteenth century, derived partly from what were called 'church duties' or 'tythes,' and partly from Easter offerings, collections in church at Communions, and at the church door after services, the fees for marriages, burials, christenings, the rents of certain freehold property which belonged to the parish, and voluntary contributions.

But though these funds were derived from various sources, and some of them stated to have been collected for special objects, yet they were all kept in a single account, which was made up by the churchwardens and presented to the vestry, at first every two years, but subsequently annually.

The several sums of money collected appear to have been distributed upon the following general plan: The collections 'at the communions' and at the church door were allocated to the poor, the poor money being kept separately in a chest, with three keys, in the church. Subsequently the poor's account was also separated from that of the other funds and was kept by the overseers.

Out of the other funds, derived from the church duties or tithes, Easter offerings, fees and rents of parish property, were provided the salary of the minister, and sometimes of the preachers, and the wages of the scavenger and clerk, and the other general parish expenses. When, however, the general funds were low, special subscriptions were raised for special purposes, such as preachers, church repairs, &c.

In later times considerable modifications were made, both in the way the funds were collected and in their apportionment. Tithes, Easter offerings, and collections for the minister became merged into a minister's rate, and church rates, poor rates, and general rates came into being.

The following summaries for the four years 1567–1570 show the amount at that time passing through the churchwardens' hands, and the general purposes to which they were applied.

(For 1567 and 1568.)

the first year	The hoill sōme of all the money Receavide by m^{r} hiedes from sainte thomas day before Xp̄n̄masse in an^{o} 1566 unto the laste day of february whyche was in an^{o} 1567	xxxiiii^{l} v^{s} i^{d} $\overset{\text{ii}}{\text{qr}}$
the ii yeare	The hoill sōme of all ye money Rec^{d} by m^{r} hiedes frome the laste day of ffebruary w^{ch} was in an^{o} 1567 unto sainte thomas day before Xp̄n̄masse in an^{o} 1568	xiii^{l} xiiii^{s} ob $\overset{\text{ii}}{\text{qr}}$
	The hoill sōme Re^{d} in these ii years is	xlvii^{l} xix^{s} ii^{d}
the first yeare	The hoill some of all the money payde by m^{r} hiedes from sainte thomas day before Xp̄n̄masse in an^{o} 1566 unto the laste day of ffebruary w^{ch} was in an^{o} 1568	xxxv^{l} iii^{s} vii^{d} ob
the ii^{d} yeare	The hoill sōme of all the money payde ffrome the laste day of ffebruary w^{ch} was in an^{o} 1567 unto sainte thomas day before Xp̄n̄masse in an^{o} 1568	ix^{l} xiii^{s} iii^{d} ob
	The hoill sōme of all ye paymets in these ii years is	xliiii^{l} xvi^{s} xi^{d}
	And in this accompte the Receate was moare then y^{e} paymete iii^{l} ii^{s} iii^{d} w^{ch} m^{r} hiedes payde to the newe chyrche wardens p^{r} sently at y^{e} same accompte	iii^{l} ii^{s} iii^{d}
The last acompt	Be it knowne that this accompte was taken of thomas bean and John hiedes upon saturday the xiith of ffebruary wthin oũ churche callede the tr̃inytyes w^{t}in the mynoreis beinge p^{r}sente ther at the saide accompte marckantony galyarde gentleman James pargiter gentleman John blooke Richarde moore and Walter heins oũ mynester an^{o} 1568	

(for 1569 & 1570)

Sum̃ totalis of the layngs oute by the Spase of this two yeres laste paste as yt ys afore perticularly especified	lxxxiiii^{l} x^{s} iii^{d}
Pd to the minist^{s} that cerved here for this two yeres as ffolowth	
Item̃ P^{d} to m^{r} haynes for iii quarters of a yere	iii^{l} xv^{s}
It p^{d} to m^{r} Jacson for iiii quarters of a yere	viii^{l} xv^{s}
It p^{d} to m^{r} bōname for mychaellsmase quart^{r}	6^{s}
Sum̃ xv^{l}	
It̃ gyvē to Serteyn ministers for p^{r}chinge and Servynge here at the comuniō at dyvers tymes	viii^{l} vii^{s} viii^{d}
It̃ layed oute aboute the Repayrynge of the churche as the galarye Seelynge & candles & waxe & other necessaries	xvi^{l} xvii^{s} iiii^{d}
It̃ gyvē to the poore of this pishe . .	ix^{l} ii^{s} viii^{d}
Item gyvē to the poore wthoute this pishe .	xxxv^{l} ii^{s} vii^{d}
And so Remayneth of money in hande of all Reecypts	xxvi^{s} i^{d} ob
Wee have Sit in oure accompts of laynge oute xxxviii^{s} that wee had oute of the poore men's boxe the whiche xxxviii^{s} wth the other money that was put in to the boxe wee dyd nev^{r} write yt and so the xxvi^{s} i^{d} ob & xxxviii^{s} that we had oute of the boxe So much money ys left in o^{r} hands	iii^{l} iiii^{s} i^{d} ob

Occasionally the summing up of the year's accounts is embellished with some quaint observations on the part of the churchwardens.

In 1569 they wrote:—

Here endeth the leang outes and giftes that hath byn dune in thys v quarters as trulye as memorie will sarue us

In 1571:—

Gethered at the churche dore for the use of the pore and at the comūnions for this ii years last past as dothe appere by the boke of acoumpt which is here if you will to p use which dothe mount in sum of monye	lii^{l} v^{s} vi^{d}

In 1575

gethered of the godly congregacyone that hether resorted to heare the worde of god at the church dore & at ye commynyone & for the use of the churche for this to yeares laste paste . liii^{l} ii^{s} ii^{d}

In 1576

Item payd: for thinges this year of oure lor god a 1.5.7.6. that 1 have layde out a boute nesesarye thynges. about y^{e} church yarde & a boute y^{e} parish as yowe shall well see be my byl of a comte } iiiii^{l} xv^{s} i^{d}

be it remembered that my fellow goddarde had of this money longinge to the churche in his hand } ix^{l} xv^{s} ii^{d}

In 1578

And all though it hath ben to trublesome yeares and charge abell (chargeable) yet we thank god we have added to your stoke and hath not listen it.

When the rateable value of the property increased, and so also the tithes, while the amount paid to the minister was not increased in the same proportion, the parish funds accumulated considerably; the parishioners accordingly invested their savings, under the name of the parish stock, in freehold property.

On April 26, 1687, there was handed over to the new churchwardens 'a Coppy of the Court Roll Concerning the house at Newington bought by ye pish Stock in the year 1680,' and at the same time there was delivered to the new churchwardens, 'funding of the Parish Stock' in ready money, the sum of £35 7*s*. 6*d*. But in 1689 the parish was not so well off, and 'It was agreed to sell the house at Newington' (which had been let for £5 a year) 'to discharge the debts of the Parish.' They accordingly received of

M^{r} Hollis in part for the house at Newington sold him £90. 0. 0.
of Mr. Hollis for rest of the purchase money for the house less 17*s*. 4*d*. for arrears of chimney money & taxes &c. £14. 12. 08.

In 1773 the vestry had contrived to get so seriously into debt that they found some difficulty in devising means to meet their liabilities, which amounted to £250 3*s*. 4*d*. They determined to borrow £250 at 5 per cent., to be paid off in four years, and a few days afterwards they decided to advertise the same; but, though someone was found who undertook to lend the money, he appears to have afterwards repented of his offer, and to have tried to evade the fulfilment of his undertaking, for we find under date

Dec^{r} 23. 1773 P^{d} the Expenses taking the money out of the Bank and Seaking after the man at the Jane Shore in Shoreditch to Lend the Parish Two Hundred Pounds to Pay M^{r} Merryman and M^{r} Edwards 0. 7. 6.

Dec^{r} 29 p^{d} Expenses of Swearing & Trouble going after the Money from place to place & going before Justice Jackson 0. 10. 6.

The money was, however, obtained and paid off in the four years, and we never read of the vestry being in similar difficulties again.

PARISH PROPERTY

In addition to obtaining the church of the Abbey as their parish church, the parishioners appear, in some way or other, to have come into possession of a house which was called the Church House, for we read that in 1568 there was 'p^{d} to M^{r} blooke the vith of April for to inrole the lease of the chyrche house x^{s}.'

Six years later another house was built on behalf of the parish

p^{d} for building of ye newe house in the church yard & uppon the church wale for the use of the churche in the year of our lorde god 1574 by us churchwardens william younge & Edmonde goddard xxxi^{l} v^{s} v^{d}

And under date 1576 we read 'there was layde oute by him [the churchwarden] for the making of ii shedes for the w^{ch} the paryche receaves xxvi^{s} viii^{d} yearly—v^{l} viii^{s} viii^{d}.' The new house being built for the use of the church probably means for the benefit of the church. As soon as it was erected it was let to 'Master Beane' for twenty-one years for £25, and an annual rent of 4*d.*

In the year 1583 the rent of the one house was 20*s.* and of the other 30*s.*, and the sheds 13*s.* 4*d.* each. The tenant of one of these sheds is always described as 'the cobler.'

As the parish accounts for many years have not been preserved in full, further allusion to these properties is only met with at intervals.

In 1607 there is a memorandum stating that

> ther ys a lease granted to M^r^ hugh Price of the shed & so much ground as may be conveniently be spared for so many years as he hath in his other tenements in the same ground the lease to be drawn with covenants for the parishe & the same M^r^ Price he covenenteth to make a house of yt & to pay during the same time xiii^s^ iiii^d^ p an besides dutys to the churche . . . he covenenteth also to lay out ten pounds w^th^in the spece of the fyrst year, his tyme to begin at michaelmas next.

On May 10, 1611, we read:—

> The daie & yeare above wrytten ye accompt of M^r^ henrie Troches for the rent of a house to the use of the pishe was pfected and there remayneth in his possession the some of v^t^ iiii^s^ & ii^d^ the lease being expired at the feast of S^t^ John Baptist last past 1610.

In 1670 one of the church houses had evidently been pulled down, for among the property handed over to the new churchwardens are:—

> writings of the ground whereon formerly stood a House belonging to the parish the pticulars whereof follows also four Parchment Deeds and Two papers w^h^ concerns the Poores house and Ground in the church yard.

And among the Close Rolls of the same year, 22 Charles II part 7 No. 22, is an indenture dated July 28, 1670, transferring to new trustees, and providing for their being held in perpetual trust for the use of the parish,

> All that Messuage and tenement with the apurtenances heretofore in the occupation of . . . . lying or being within the precinct of

the late Priory of the Minories without Aldgate London between & part heretofore of the late Queen's Majesty's storehouse there on the south the Minories Church on the east part and the high way leading to the same Church on the west and north part with the appurtenances and all that room or place lying or being over the porch of the said Parish Church where an old chamber or building lately stood parcel of a messuage or tenement late of George Almay together with free liberty for the parishioners of the time being to erect such building in or upon the said room of the place for a belfrey to hang one or more bells in for the use of the said Church or such other house or building for the benefit of the said Parish as to them shall seem meet without any jetty or encroachment to be made by them on or over any housing or ground late belonging to the said George Almay.

In 1688 we still find rent being received for the house over the church.

In 1729 it was again alluded to as follows:—'Gave Relief to Jno Spence laying Claim to a Settlement by Servitude In this Parish in ye old house over ye Church 1^{s}.' (This old house had most probably been pulled down in 1706.)

In 1771 the parish came into possession of another piece of property under the following circumstances:—

January 7. 1771.—A Stack of Chimneys and a wall belonging to M^{r} & M^{rs} Cowley near Well Alley being in a dangerous condition it was decided that they ought to be taken down as it renders the lives of her Majesty's subjects to be in great Danger and notice thereof to be given to the owners by the Vestry Clerk.

On February 25, no owners having appeared,

the parish then came to the Resolution that the same should be taken down by the order of the Churchwardens Immediately and then Let the same to the best Advantage till an Owner of the premises should Appear and Claim the same and till then to be for the use of the said Parish.

Then again in the accounts, under date April 29, 1771, appears the following:—

To Sundry Bills for taking Down the ruins & Rebuilding a Bricklayers Shed on a Piece of Wast Ground in Wright Street.

And subsequently the following :—

Nov^{r} 15. 1775 ½ years Rent for Shed £2. 2. 0.

May 15. 1781 R^{d} of M^{r} Robinson for years Rent of Shop £4. 0. 0.

May 6 1784 By Cash received of M^{r} Robinson for 1 year's Rent for Parish Freehold £4. 0. 0.

April 7. 1785 R^{d} of M^{r} Richard Robinson for the Parish ffreeholds 4. 0. 0.

After this similar entries occur year by year.

Then again in 1820

a piece of Ground said to belong to the Parish of the Holy Trinity on the outside of the Gateway leading to the west division of the Haydon square Tea warehouses belonging to the East India Company, which piece of ground appears to have lain open many years and is about 16 feet by 14 feet, was exchanged for another piece of Freehold ground nearly opposite thereto belonging to the Company.

The East India Company would have purchased this property, but 'the Vestry doubted their power to sell the same.'

Then in 1825 'a lease was granted of the Piece of Vacant Ground in Lancaster Place at £4 a year,' and in 1839 the parish granted 'a Lease of several feet of ground in Haydon Square adjoining Warehouses commonly called "Rumballs."'

The relics of these freehold possessions now consist of two small plots in Lancaster Place, over which buildings are erected, and a yard at the back of 49 Church Street. One of the former is probably that which the parish annexed in 1771, and the other that which was obtained by exchange in 1820, and that behind 49 Church Street may be all that is left of the site of one or other of the houses which the parish owned in earlier days; but there is not sufficient data to identify, with any certainty, the present with the past possessions, and there are no title-deeds of any description now existing to throw light on the subject.

The room over the church porch, and the house over the church (whatever that means) were probably pulled down when the church was restored in 1706.

The 'several feet of ground,' of which a lease was granted as late as 1839, appear to have been allowed in some way to slip out of the possession of the parish.

For very many years past the rents from these properties, amounting to about £40 a year, had been appropriated to the payment of church expenses; but, under the powers of the 'City of London Parochial Charities Act 1883'—in the schedule of which the parish of Holy Trinity Minories was very improperly included—the Charity Commissioners have seized and alienated them, and the parish has no longer any interest in them.

CHAPTER XVI

PAROCHIAL ORGANISATION AND GOVERNMENT (*continued*)

Regulations made and means adopted for preserving order in the precinct; for preventing encroachments and unauthorised entrances; for preventing undesirables becoming residents and for ejecting objectionable inhabitants—Fines for profane swearing—Parochial punishments—Provision of recruits for the army, navy, and militia—Water supply—Sanitary regulations and paving—The fire engine—Parish entertainments

Such being the constitution of the parochial government, and the means at the disposal of the vestry for meeting the various claims laid upon them and for carrying on the business of the parish, it remains for us to consider the character of its rule and its scope.

The position of the parish as an inclosed precinct, and the rights which the parishioners possessed as inhabitants of a peculiar, had a marked effect upon the tone and character of the management of all parish matters. For many years the original outlines of the Abbey buildings remained intact, the old gates still closed all the entrances to the parish, and this, coupled with the fact of its being a peculiar, made the parishioners exceedingly jealous of anything like interference from without, or disturbance of their seclusion, by the making of new entrances through the parish boundaries; and also gave them a fixed determination on all occasions to assert their corporate authority within their little world, and those who presumed to encroach on the public highway, or who, in any way, became a cause of annoyance to the community, were dealt with in a very high-handed manner.

Had it not been for the energetic measures continually taken to prevent lawless characters from settling in the parish, the precinct might very soon have become a refuge for lawbreakers and criminals of every description, as happened in the case of some other well-known peculiars; but this danger was successfully averted, while the parishioners made the most of their privileges for their own advantage.

The following entries refer to the attempts made to obtain rights of way into the precinct, and the determined resistance of the vestry to such intrusions:—

> April ye 22th 1679. At a vestrye of this parish held ye day & year above said It is ordered & appointed that the dore of a House in ye parish of Algate wch opens uppon Suference into this parish And is in ye possession of one . . . . be shut up forthwith & no egress or regress thereunto permitted as being preiudiciall in diuers respects to this parish & ye Inhabitants thereof.
>
> April 6. 1695. Spent at a meeting with some of ye Parish about Mr Cartars doore—2s
>
> March 28. 1758. At a Vestry it was ordered that a Committee be & the same is hereby appointed to take into Consideration ye Complaint of this Parish agt Mr Rolfe of Somerset Street Cordwainer for breaking a way through from Chequer Yard into this Parish without Leave and that any five of ye Vestrymen do make a Quorum and that Justice Mainwaring be desired to assist such Committee and waited upon for that purpose.

Another class of offences, against which the authority of the vestry was brought to bear, was the occupation of the streets for the purpose of hawking. The Jews were evidently in this matter the chief offenders. On November 21, 1782, expenses were incurred 'for driving the Jews and other People in the Front of the Minories belonging to this Parish.' And at a vestry held on October 29, 1788, the following resolutions were carried:—

> 1st That the frequent Stopages occasioned by the Old Cloaths People in the North End of this Parish is a Nuisance and ought to be removed.
>
> 2nd That a Committee of Eight Persons be appointed to wait on and consult the Magistrates on the best method to prevent the Nuisance and proceed accordingly.
>
> 3rd That one Thousand Hand Bills be printed and delivered by the Beadle to the Dealers in Cloaths, passing the North End of this Parish.

4th That the necessary expenses attending the whole to be paid by this Parish and the Churchwarden be authorised to pay the same.

5th That upon an application of three of the Committee the Churchwarden be requested to call a Vestry as soon as Convenient.

6th That these Resolutions continue in force Three Months.

Again, at a Vestry held October 20, 1789, it was resolved:

that a Committee be appointed to wait upon Mr Justice Staples to consult him on the most effectual mode of preventing the nuisances in the front occasioned by the Old Cloaths Hawkers—(Committee appointed.)

A motion was likewise carried that the above named Gentlemen do request Mr Staples to sit in this Parish in order to Commit any such offenders & deal with them according to law and that the Churchwarden be impowered to defray the expenses attending the same.

In 1806 a parishioner had to be dealt with for a similar offence.

It being made known that Mr Sly continued to expose his Goods for sale beyond the limits of his premises to the great annoyance of the parish it was agreed that the Vestry Clerk give him notice that unless the same was totally discontinued a prosecution would be immediately commenced against him.

Occasionally the vestry had to interfere with the owners of private houses whose disorderly conduct caused annoyance to the parish generally. On March 17, 1802,

It being represented at the Vestry by the Churchwardens that the inhabitants of several of the houses in Haydon Yard were disorderly and the neighbourhood had of late been much disturbed by nocturnal noise and riots It was agreed that the Churchwardens & Overseers do take such legal steps as they may deem most expedient for the purpose of redressing the above grievance.

Again, in 1810, the vestry

ordered that the Vestry Clerk do write to Mr Langford respecting the disturbance and noise made in Haydon Square and other parts of this Parish by the Boys of his School in order if possible to do away the same and to report Mr Langfords answer at the next Vestry.

The following minute again illustrates the extent to which the vestry asserted their authority within the parish, and also the somewhat exaggerated opinion that they held of the public notoriety and the interest taken in their parochial affairs:—

Nov. 21. 1827. The Vestry Clerk laid before the Vestry the peculiar situation of M^r Craig's premises so left and deranged by him for the purpose of considering what was best to be done for the benefit of the Parish it was moved and seconded that M^r Evitt [the Vestry Clerk] do exert himself to the utmost of his power to obtain the possession from M^r Craig in order to the premises being let to a person or persons who will for the future pay the rates and assist in the general service of Officers of the said parish and to convince the world of their determination not to suffer the said Parish to be inhabited by such persons as M^r Craig for the future and the same being put, passed unanimously.

In 1802 the vestry considered that it was within their powers to 'order that the Churchwarden be instructed to take advice and follow the proper steps to remove the Billiard table situate in this parish.'

Occasionally they adopted somewhat stringent measures for the purpose of preventing undesirable persons from coming into the parish, and removing those whose company was obnoxious to peaceably minded inhabitants.

We read under date

May ye 25 Anno 1671. Att a Vestry this day it was agreed that the Clark for the time being shall from time to time take care and look that no Inhabitant shall come in to Inhabitate within this Parish but shall give dew notice unto ye Church Warden and Constable for the time being and shall have and receive of the said Inhabitant for his Paines foure pense Witness our hands the day above said &c.

And again on June 15, 1723,

Charges at a meeting to order the Removall of Smiths disorderly Lodgers.

And on July 4, 1730,

To 150 printed bills to deliver to the house keepers warning them of w^t Lodgers they take in.—3—

It is possible that the following resolution, passed the next year, 1731, was intended, as far as possible, to deter parishioners from taking in lodgers at all :—

It was ordered that in Case any Inhabitant of this parish shall take in any Lodger & Such Lodger shall happen to Dye in ye house of any such Inhabitant then such person who shall Occupy such house where such person shall so Dye shall be answerable for the dues of ye parish.

But, notwithstanding all these precautions, the peace of the parish was occasionally somewhat seriously disturbed. On July 31, 1736, there was 'expended on ye parish Acco^t in waiting upon ye Justices & at M^r Lanpheres to Preserve ye Parish from Insults of the Mobt.— 7^s—

And again :—

June 13. 1780. P^d for Two Pair of Hand cuffs, the rioters run away with—5^s—

June 16. 1780. P^d the Extra Watchman for Ten Nights Watching on Account of the Rioters—13—

The vestry also did their part in the endeavour to put down profane swearing by law, as is shown by the following entries in the accounts :—

Sep. 29. 1724. Rece^d of M^r Justice Newton for 20 Oaths Sworn by a man M^r Graves took up. 1. 0. 0.

Jany 7. 1731. Rece^d of ye Constable for prophane swearing—2^s—

Aug^t 1731. Rec^d of ye Constable at 2 Severall times for Prophane Swear^g—5^s—

Aug^t 13. 1746. Paid for a Act of Parliament against Profane Swearing to be Read in the Church. 0. 0. 6.

Parochial Punishments

Besides an occasional reference to the 'stocks' and the 'cage,' there is nothing that throws any light upon the extent to which the means of discipline were used by the parochial authorities, or as to the misdemeanours for which such punishments were inflicted. All we find are the following :—

In 1584 'mending the stockes' and 'dressing the church yard' together cost 2*s*.

In

Jany 169$\frac{4}{5}$ Paid M^{r} Crook for iron work about the stocks 00–03–00

The next is:—

Jany 29, 170$\frac{2}{3}$ paid the Headborough for Charges for women's sitting in the Stocks & other expenses—14^{s}—

And under date October 18, 1782, is the following:—

Gave Haley for taking Hannah Glin to Bridewell—2–6.

To D^{o} for giving his Dearey Victuals & Drink in the Cage & at the Rotation Office & other Expenses—2—

The cage (which was a small lock-up), the stocks, and the engine-house were all together in Haydon Square, near the south wall of the church, prior to 1770, when they were removed to the east end of the church. In 1798 they were again 'removed and Erected on the piece of Freehold Ground belonging to the Parish situate on the North side of Church Street.' The engine-house was, in 1847, erected in the churchyard at the east end of the church, but the stocks remained in Lancaster Place, on the north side of Church Street, until quite recent times.

There were also, but their positions are not indicated, a 'Look Watchman' and other watchhouses. These were ordered to be removed when the police came into existence in 1830.

PROVISION OF RECRUITS FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY

It is almost a matter of surprise, considering the claims that the inhabitants made to exemption from every kind of external authority, that they did not include freedom from service in the army and navy as one of their undoubted privileges, but it does not seem that they ever went as far as this; they did once try to resist having soldiers quartered upon them, but on this point they soon acknowledged their error.

With regard to recruiting, as far as the evidence of their own records goes, they were always ready to respond to the calls made upon them, although, when pressing had to be done, it was carried out by their own parish officers. The first reference to this subject is dated

Feby 28, 170$\frac{8}{9}$ Spent in making a Proclamation for Souldiers for the Queen 0. 3. 0.

and gave Freeman for speaking and for drink 0. 1. 3.

And

May 28, 1709. Spent at Several times at Several meetings all ye Officers in Searching for & Sending of Sould^{rs} To the Commissioners 0. 8. 6.

Then again

March 17, 1746. Spent at Several times going a Pressing with the Rest of the Officers 0. 4. 6.

March 31, 1758. By Expenses when out pressing. 0. 5. 9.

In 1795, two men being required 'for the use of his Majesty's navy it was resolved to treat with the officers of the old Artillery Ground in regard to their raising the two men.'

On December 15, 1796, 'Notice was read from the Chief Constable of this Division that one man was to be levied by this Parish for the service of His Majesty's Army.'

On February 22, 1797,[1] it was 'agreed that the Churchwardens might pay £6 to any Volunteer for the Tower Hamlets Militia and an opportunity should be given to Inmates & Lodgers to subscribe thereto on consideration of being exempted from the hazard of the Ballot.' £34 13*s*. was raised by subscription for the above purpose, and £57 12*s*. by the rates. On January 7 of the same year they 'paid a man to serve as a soldier £26 . 5 . 0.' He deserted almost immediately afterwards.

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[1] The Militia force was organically reformed by Pitt in 1757 when the liability of individuals to serve was abolished, and each county was required to furnish a quota apportioned among the various parishes. Men were to be drawn by lot to serve for three years or find a substitute. In 1758 Volunteers were officially recognised as counting towards the quota. In 1796 a supplemental Militia was formed by which the whole force was more than doubled.

In December of the next year it became necessary to make a rate of 1½*d.* in the pound 'to provide 5 militia men in place of those who had run away.'

Shortly after this the parish began to feel the duty of raising so many men a heavy tax, and, in conjunction with other parishes in the Tower Hamlets, they agreed, in 1801, to petition the House of Commons against the continuance of the Militia.

It seems to have been especially difficult to keep up the supply of men in consequence of the number of desertions, so much so, that, following the example of other parishes, in 1802 they resolved in all cases 'to pay the fine of £20 [1] in lieu of raising the men for those said to be dead or deserted.' This was the most economical course, as they sometimes had to pay a bounty amounting to £30 to a man to induce him to serve. And in addition to this they had, on occasion, to keep the Militia man's family whilst he was away.

Officers in command of regiments, however, endeavoured as far as possible not to enroll men who had families. On one occasion

> a substitute for a Parishioner in the Militia who had 3 children applied for assistance to obtain his discharge & informed the Vestry that the Colonel & Adjutant would not accept a man in exchange who had Incumbrance.

When, at the close of the eighteenth century, the country was in need of more money as well as men, the parishioners of the Minories were equally ready to meet the call.

On February 28, 1798,

> A publick Vestry was held in order to adopt a mode of Receiving Voluntary Contributions for the aid of Government on the present alarming Crisis and on other affairs,

when it was resolved unanimously

> That it is the opinion of this Meeting that every exertion should be made to render the subscription for Voluntary Contributions

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[1] In 1761 the raising of the quota of Militia men was made compulsory on counties under penalty of fines. From the above resolution it must be inferred that the counties in their turn levied the fines upon defaulting parishes, and the amount at that time was fixed at £20 per man.

now open at the Bank, under the authority of Parliament, for the Defence of the Country as extensive and productive as possible: being convinced that nothing can tend so much, as the success of that measure to frustrate the projects of the Enemy, to maintain public Credit, and to accelerate the return of Peace on safe and honourable terms. That for the immediate Accomodation of the Inhabitants of this Parish subscription Books be opened in the Vestry room to be afterwards transmitted to the Bank of England.

The amount that was collected was not stated.

Then, in May of the same year,

a Committee was appointed to form a plan for the purpose of carrying into effect the late Act of Parliament for the defence of the Country as far as relates to Parochial meetings.

WATER SUPPLY

Though the necessity to the health of the population of a good supply of pure water and of strict sanitary regulations was little understood in days gone by, yet there is evidence that the authorities of the Minories were, up to their lights, not unmindful of their duties in these respects.

Wells were, of course, the source from which water was derived, and the parish pump was an ancient institution; 'mending the pompe' cost 41*s.* 1*d.* in 1573, and in after years there are constantly recurring entries of the expenses of keeping it in repair.

In 1575 a new well was constructed, as appears from the following statement,

> Item payde for dyginge of the well & for bryckes for ye same well & for lyme and sand & workmanship about the same well iii^{l} xii^{s} viii^{d}

One of these wells was probably situated near the north-east corner of the parish, where till quite lately stood 'Well Court.' It is to the pump belonging to this well that the following curiously worded entry, dated 1771, refers:—

> Agreed that the Pump in the front streett be removed where it sho^{d} be tho^{t} Convenient and make good at the parish Expense or a New one Erected provided it sho^{d} be tho^{t} the old one wont do.

The remains of this well were discovered during the excavations for the Metropolitan Railway, and at the bottom there was found an old windlass.

Unfortunately for the health of the parish, the vestry in 1693 accepted an offer which is thus recorded:

> Memorand. That Christopher Johns Bricklayer hath (in consideration of the liberty of the Church yard to lay his Timber and other materialls for the building of his house) Erected at his own charge a Pump for the benefit of his owne Tennants and the other Inhabitants of the said parish joyning to the Wall of the said Church Yard: On Condition that the parish shall keepe the said pump in repaire as oft as it shall be requisite.

It was not till 1825 that the vestry became impressed with the desirability of removing the pump from the vicinity of the churchyard, but the resolution to this effect then passed was not carried out till 1831, when a new well, thirty feet deep, was dug at the north-west corner of Haydon Square. The water from this well was considered exceptionally pure, but the well was cleared away, together with the inclosed garden of the square, in 1851 by the London and North-Western Railway. Since then there has been no parish pump.

Sanitary Regulations and Paving

The earliest reference that we find to any orders issued by the vestry for cleansing the streets and keeping them free from rubbish is

> Primo Novembris 1622.
>
> It is agreed at this vestry That every Inhabitant householder in the p^r^cinct shall at his owne coste and charges from tyme to tyme weekly sweepe & take up all such Soile both in his house and lying before his or theire house or doore as shalbe be raised or made there, and the same carry or cause to be carried forth to the co͞mon laystall: And that the Scavenger from tyme to tyme appointed shall carefully loke to the due performance thereof upon paine for every such neglect the same house holder to forfeit for every such heape that he shall make or suffer to lye before his or their doore uppon the Satterday at Sun sett the sum of 4^{d} to be

by the officer or officers of this p^r^cinct leavied by distresse to the use of the poore: and for every such pson that shall secretly transport his own soile, and lay it before any of his nieghbours houses or doares (if the same can be sufficiently approved before the vestry theire then next vestry), the same pson soe offendinge, beinge thereof convicted shall forfeit as aforesaid to be levied as aforesaid 12^{d} for every such offence: And that the Scavenger for the tyme beinge shall duly present to the vestry by note in writinge all & every the names of such psons from tyme to tyme as shalbe delinquente herein.

That it was necessary to frame and enforce regulations to prevent householders from placing their dust and refuse heaps in front of their neighbours' doors is a curious commentary on the habits of the times. For many years previous to this, periods of abnormally heavy death-rates had occurred frequently, the heaviest of all, with the exception of that of the great plague in 1665, being two years and a half after this date, which suggests the conclusion that some much more effective sanitary measures were required than the removal of dust-heaps.

Apparently at that time the only means of disposing of such sewage as there might be, and rain water, was by allowing them to flow into the watercourse, which then stretched from Houndsditch to the Thames, down the centre of the road (now called the Minories) but in those days forming the western boundary of the Minories proper, the roadway being unquestionably at a much lower level than it is now. Among the documents possessed by the parish in 1577 is mentioned 'an indenture for our water course from the lord maior.'

As this document is not now forthcoming, we can only conjecture that it had something to do with this stream, possibly giving the vestry the right to empty their sewage into it.

In 1635[1] a Commission recommended to the Privy Council 'that a large strong vaulted sewer 4 ft. broad and 6 ft. high be immediately made all along the bottom of Mooreditch down to the Mynories to carry the sewage into the Thames.'

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[1] *S.P.* Charles I. 294 (72). July 1635.

That the sewage of the Minories emptied itself into this sewer, and had therefore previously emptied itself into the open stream, is borne out by the fact that, when in 1678 a sewer was constructed further east, and the Minories was assessed for a contribution towards the cost, they refused to pay on the ground that their sewage was already otherwise provided for.

The minute referring to this is as follows:—

> March ye 6 1678. At a vestry held ye day & year above said for and Concerning ye Imposition of a tax of nine pounds & two pence as ye dividend of 588^{l} 2^{s} 4^{d} laid upon Shadwell Stepney & other places by ye Comission^{rs} of ye Sewers w^{h} 9^{l} 00^{s} 2^{d} they require as a due levy or Assessment upon ye parish of Trinity Minories Now upon perusall of ye Warr^{t} of ye Worp^{ll} ye Com^{rs} of ye Sewers, and upon due Consideration of ye same, It is found yt the Com̄on drayn or Sewer, serving for ye said place, was made and is & hath been repaired at ye charge of ye said parish & is not an appurtenant neither comes within ye limits of ye said Comissi̅o̅n of Sewers And therefore it is resolved yt we will stand to the Vindication of our just rights And do hereby Impower ye said psons named in ye said Warr^{t} of ye Com^{rs} of Sewers to act in ye behalf of ye said parish & do hereby promise to defend & save harmless ye said psons whose names follow.

In resisting the levying of a rate upon the parish by the Commissioners of Sewers they were moved, no doubt, not only by the fact that they were in no way benefited by the sewer in question, but also by their desire to remain, as far as possible, independent of all outside authorities.

It was just the same when the question came to be considered, whether the parish should unite with the City in procuring an Act of Parliament for regulating the paving of the streets, but in this matter they were a little vacillating. The question was first debated in 1766, 'as to ye paving ye Street to ye Extent of this parish in ye same manner as ye City of London the Vestry is of opinion not to Apply to be included in ye City Bill for paving but to remain as they are.' Two years later they resolved to apply to Parliament for powers to enable the parishioners to 'be at liberty to pave the said Parish at their own Expense and that the Front may be paved According to the City Plans and the other part of the Parish as shall be thought most proper.'

But a few months afterwards they reconsidered the matter and appointed a committee 'to apply to the parish of Whitechapel or any other parish to join with them in Applying to parliament for an Act to pave light and cleanse the parish. Nothing, however, came of this proposal for a joint application to Parliament, and in 1771 they obtained their own Act of Parliament, which was intituled

> An Act for the better paving cleansing lighting and watching Haydon Square the New Square Haydon Yard Sheepy Yard Church Street, Little Church Street otherwise the Church Passage, Church Court and Kenton Street and the Passages therein or leading thereunto in the Parish of &c.

Under this Act, Commissioners were appointed for carrying out its purposes, which included, as the title shows, many of the duties formerly performed by the vestry at large.

In 1855 the Commission of Pavements for the parish came to an end, being then absorbed by the Metropolitan Board of Works, the parish sending one representative to the District Board.

The Fire Engine

When it was first considered the duty of the vestry to provide the parish with a fire engine does not appear. The earliest allusion to it is in the following minute:—

> At a vestry held the 12th day of June 1705 for Assessing the poores Books the parishioners upon a debate arizing thought it convenient to Establish an Officer for looking after and playing of the Engine, And accordingly they do hereby constitute and appointe, William Smith of the Parish their Standing Officer to looke after and play the Engine, And do hereby order the Churchwardens for the time being to pay the said Smith a Sallery of fforty Shillings per Ann for the same provided he be ready upon any occasion of fire to attend the Constable with the Engine in discharge of his said office as Witnesse &c.

Probably before this it had been the constable's duty to look after and to see to the working of the engine.

The engine of that time was evidently always kept full of water, ready for any emergency at a moment's notice, for there is an entry in 1701 for 'Charges emptying Water out of Injion before frost.' Subsequently the entries in reference to keeping the fire engine in working order are numerous, and no word, as regards its spelling, seems to have so puzzled the parish scribes, as 'engine,' 'Ingian,' 'Ingion,' 'Indian,' 'engen,' 'endgen,' are some of the varieties.

The last engine was purchased by the vestry in 1826, and it cost £76 16*s*.

It was for many years the invariable custom to play the engine on Ascension Day, when the bounds of the parish were beaten.

Parish Entertainments

That parish officials should periodically entertain themselves at the expense of the parishioners generally, seems to have been an ancient and an almost universal custom. In the Minories certainly these feasts were by no means infrequent; not only were there several regular entertainments at stated times in the year, but there were periods when no business of any kind was transacted without something being spent at the public charges.

As early as 1569 we find an entry—

> Item for our metinge and making up of our a countes for our super v^{s} iiii^{d}.

And again in the next year,

> Item p^{d} for a Supper for the neyghbors in meetynge to gether this Quart^{r} xv^{s}.

In 1574,

> for the supper that was made for the parish xvii day of september by us churchwardens xlii^{s} iiii^{d} ob.

And in 1575,

> Item payde for oure suppers when we met all together xlii^{s}.

This was the average cost of the suppers for some years, with slight variations. These suppers, or dinners as they were called in later times, were originally held on the day on which the annual accounts were made up, and subsequently at Easter and on Ascension Day.

The Easter feast sometimes took place on Easter Day, and sometimes on Easter Tuesday; but in process of time other feast days were added, such as the days on which the archdeacon's visitation took place, when the parish officers were nominated, and when the charities were given away. It was sometimes considered not improper even to hold a feast on Good Friday. On March 31, 1785, there was 'paid at the Goat on Good ffriday when the Antients met on the Parish Business for Supper £2 . 10 . 2.' An idea of the extent to which this feasting reached may be gathered from the following extracts from the accounts for 1804:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Wine bill	9	14	0
Audit Supper	3	12	9
Donation list	4	17	5
Easter & Ascension Day	16	0	0
Nomination day	4	14	0
Antwerp tavern after Visitation at Ch. Ch.	7	8	6
	46	6	8

In the same year cockades on Ascension Day cost £3 0*s.* 2*d.* and nosegays 12*s.* 6*d.*

The wording of some of the earlier entries on this head seems to imply that the whole of the vestry partook of the festivities, but whether this was always so is not clear. At all events the vestry as a body felt that, whether they all shared in the feasts or not, it was necessary that the churchwardens should not have a free hand to spend just what they pleased, and accordingly, from time to time, they passed resolutions limiting the amount that should be at their disposal for this purpose. For instance we read,

> At a vestry houlden the 11th day of October 1626 It is consented and agreed on at this vestry that from henceforth there

shalbe allowed unto all Church wardens for the tyme being for and in full recompence only the sum of Thirty shillings for any one visittacon dynner That is to be understood to be ymplied at Easter visittacon and els not.

In 1781 a resolution was passed allowing the churchwardens to 'Expend at the Usual Feast Days of Easter Tuesday and Holy Thursday the sum of Five Pounds each Feast Day.' In 1793 the allowance was increased to eight pounds.

In more modern times doubts seem to have arisen in the minds of some of the vestry as to the legality of these expenditures. In 1844, at the audit of the accounts, objection was taken to the

item respecting the Dinner given by the Church Warden on the Perambulation Day, the Vestry Clerk was then called upon to read a letter from M^r^ Murray dated May 1840, from the way this dinner was got up it appeared clearly illegal but the Churchwarden having so many Precedents for this expenditure after the subject had been fully discussed, the item was allowed—

it was afterwards agreed

that in future, prior to the Perambulation Day Notice be given to this effect for the Inhabitants to meet in Vestry on Holy Thursday to beat the Parish Boundaries and to Sanction the Churchwarden in applying a certain sum, to be then fixed upon by the Vestry there assembled, towards the Expenses of Refreshment on that day.

Until only a few years ago the old custom was kept up of beating the bounds on Ascension Day; and on that, or some other evening, the parish officials dined together.

CHAPTER XVII

PAROCHIAL ORGANISATION AND GOVERNMENT (*continued*)

Poor Relief

The poor funds—Legacies—Outdoor relief of parishioners—Indoor relief—Pauper children—Bridal portions—Pauper settlements—Relief of non-parishioners—General summary

By no means the least important, and perhaps the most difficult duty that fell to the lot of the parishioners and required their closest attention, was the care of the poor.

Of the way in which they endeavoured to fulfil their obligations in this respect our records afford us abundant information, and from these we are able to determine, to a very great extent, how far they managed to grapple successfully with a problem which still defies a perfect and complete solution.

In considering our materials bearing upon this subject, it will be convenient to take first

The Poor Funds

The 'poors money,' as it was called, was always kept separately from the rest of the parish funds, and in 1570 a 'cheste' was made in which the money was deposited. This chest cost 5*s*., it had three locks, each of the value of a shilling, and was kept in the church. At first, as the Act of Parliament of 1551 provided, the only sources from which the poor fund was derived were collections 'at the Communions' and at the church door.

In 1571 two years' collections amounted to the large sum of £52 5*s.* 6*d.* In 1573 it was £22 18*s.* 6*d.*, and in the next account it had risen to £56 18*s.* 2½*d.*

In those days, whenever the chest was opened, all it contained was taken out, 30*s.* was then replaced, and the remainder was distributed.

In 1592 the sums received for the relief of the poor had considerably diminished, as appears from the following:—

The Accompte of Nicholas Adrianson Collector of the pishe of the Trinitie Minories for ye two years past beginninge at Christmas 1592 and endinge at Christmas 1594 taken at a Vestrie the 2 of Aprill 1594.

Imprimis receaved of the Booke of Colleceon for the pore for the yeare of o^{r} Lord 1593	iii^{l} viii^{s}
and gathered at the church dore in 1593	iii^{l} ix^{s} i^{d} ob
Sum. totlis of the first yeares receapts	vi^{l} xvii^{s} i^{d} ob
1594 by the booke of colleceon	xl^{s} i^{d}
at the church dore	xiii^{s} vii^{d}
Sum totlis for 1594	ii^{l} xiii^{s} viii^{d}
for the two years	ix^{l} x^{s} ix^{d} ob

It will be observed that in these accounts a book of collection is spoken of, but whether the amounts received at the celebration of the Holy Communion were entered in this book, or whether it indicates that collections were made from house to house, does not appear; if the latter, it proved a signal failure.

During the next few years even smaller amounts were received; in 1596 the whole sum collected was no more than £3 2*s.* 3¼*d.*

In 1601 an Act of Parliament (43 Eliz. cap. 2) was passed, by which the principle of a compulsory assessment for relief of the poor was established, and 'to the intent that necessary places of habitation may more conveniently be provided for such poor impotent people,' the churchwardens and overseers, by leave of the Lord of the Manor, were authorised to erect 'convenient places of habitation' on any waste or common within the parish, at the general charges of the parish. How soon any provisions of this Act were put into force in the Minories we have no evidence, for it is not till 1640 that we find any further reference to the poor fund. At that time there was £48 in hand, which was ordered 'to be put out for ye use of ye poore as shall seeme fit to ye minister and parishioners.'

But collections for the poor, and poor's rates, were not the only sources from which the parish authorities derived means for the relief of the poor; the fees which the parish claimed for marriages and burials were partly, if not wholly, expended for their benefit, and in addition to these the fees for the privilege of burying in linen, and the fines for not serving parochial offices, appear to have been always paid into the poor fund. Then further, throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century, the 'King's Bounty,' a sum varying from £5 to £6, was annually received and distributed among the poor. The last allusion to the King's Bounty is in 1828. There is also an occasional mention of 'trophy money,' which was disposed of in the same way.

Yet another source of income was that derived from the proceeds of

Legacies

The earliest legacy bequeathed to the parish was left by Mr. John Hide under a will dated September 8, 1604, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, October 24, 1604, as follows:—

> Item I give and bequeath to be issuinge out of the saide messuages landes and tenements in the pcinct called the Mynoryes aforesaide to the Minister and Churchwardens of the Church of the Trinitie in the Mynories aforesaide one yearlie rente of 16^{s} by the yeare to be yearely paied at the Feaste of Saint John Baptiste for the providinge of Coales for the Poore within the Parish or pcinct of the Mynories aforesaide of such kinde and measure and in such manner as is aforesaide except 12 pence thereof which I will shall be given to some discreet pson to see the measuringe and quality of the said Coales that the same be in forme abovesaid.

Power is then given under the will (in the event of his several legacies not being duly paid) to the different trustees 'severally and respectively to enter into the said messuages landes and tenements in the messuages and there to distriene for the seaverall Annuities and rentes aforesaid And for the severall paines and penalties aforesaid.' The trusteeship of this bequest is now vested in the Merchant Taylors' Company, by whom the sum of 16*s*. was, till lately, annually paid to the vicar and churchwardens of the parish.

The next legacy of which we have any record was paid over to the churchwardens in 1664, when we read that they 'at the same tyme delivered up to ye vestry at that ꝑ^{r}sent tyme the sūm of ten pounds receved by them of S^{r} Nich Stroude, being the legacye of S^{r} George Stroud deceased which was distributed to ye poor of ye said parish according to ye will of ye Donor.'

In 1669 'a legacy of five pounds was left by M^{r} Rutton to the poore to be disposed of to the same at the discresion of the inhabitants of the Parish.'

In 1707 Dame Sarah Prichard, relict of Sir Wm. Prichard, included the parish of Holy Trinity Minories, among the recipients of her charity. The following is an extract from her will, dated April 26, 1707, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, May 15, 1708:—

> Whereas I am now possessed of the sum of £800 in the present credit of the Chamber of the City of London commonly called the Orphans Fund or Stocks which at the rate of £4 per centum doth yearly produce the sum of £32. . . . Also my further Will is and I do hereby direct and appoint that the said sum of £2 : 10 : 0 shall at Christmas yearly for ever be paid out of the said yearly sum of £32 to and amongst such Ten poor Widows or Maids equally Inhabitants in the Parish of the Minories in London (where I now dwell) as the Minister and Churchwardens for the time being of that Parish shall direct or appoint.

The annual income derived from this charity amounts, at the present time, to £3 0*s*. 2*d*., the capital being in the hands of the Charity Commissioners.

In 1763 Captain David Lindsay, by will dated February 26 and proved March 30 of the same year, made the following bequest to the parish:—

> I give and bequeath unto the said David Fotheringham and Richard Smith their executors and administrators the sum of

£150 upon trust that they or the survivor of them his executors or administrators do and shall within three months after my decease lay out and invest the same in Government Securities in the name of my said executors and the Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish of the Little Trinity Minories and that they my said Trustees and the survivor of them his executors and administrators do and shall yearly and every year lay out the interest dividends and yearly proceeds of the said £150 in buying Bread which I direct shall be distributed yearly on every Christmas day between Morning and Afternoon Service to the Poor of the said Parish of Little Trinity Minories for ever and in order to preserve and keep the said trust and my intention therein on foot I do hereby direct that the said Stock so to be purchased shall be transferred by my said Trustees and the Minister and Churchwardens into whose names it shall first be transferred into the name of every succeeding Minister and Churchwarden so that the same may always continue in the name of the Minister and Churchwardens of the said Parish for the time being of my said two Trustees or the survivor of them and the executors or administrators of such survivor for ever for the ends and purposes herein before directed.

This legacy was invested in 3 per cent. Consols, and is of the nominal value of £161 *5s.* *9d.*

Mrs. Margaret Richardson, by will dated April 3, 1788, and proved May 20 in the same year, gave and bequeathed 'to the minister and churchwardens of the parish of the Little Trinity Minories' the sum of £50, to be paid to them within six months after her decease, and to be by them distributed to and among the poor of the said parish, to whom and in such manner as they shall judge proper. A meeting of the vestry was held on October 29 of the same year

in order to determine on the best method of appropriating to the use of the Poor the Legacy left by M^{rs} Richardson when it was agreed to recommend the said Minister and Churchwardens to put out the said Legacy in Bank Annuities in their own names and those of their Successors for the benefit of the Poor of the said Parish for ever The produce of the said Legacy so vested to be distributed annually by the Minister and Churchwardens for the time being in money, Food, Clothing Coals or Medicine and in such proportion to each individual as they the Trustees shall think most beneficial to the party.

The legacy was invested in New 3¼ per cents., and is of the nominal value of £48 16*s.* 11*d.*

Mr. Christopher Wigglesworth, in 1793, made a gift in his lifetime of £50, the interest thereof to be distributed among poor housekeepers of the parish (not receiving alms), which was invested in 3 per cent. Consols.

Mr. Richard Robinson, by will dated February 18, 1796, and proved March 1 in the same year, gave and bequeathed 'unto the poor widows of Trinity Minories in the Liberty of His Majesty's Tower of London, £50 bank stock, to be purchased by his executors, and the interest for ever to be distributed by the Antients of the above Liberty.' The nominal value of this stock is £46 12*s.* 6*d.*

In 1818 a legacy of £10 was left to the parish by Mr. Fox, which appears to have been disposed of at the same time.

Notwithstanding the strict injunctions given by the several donors in their wills that their charitable bequests should be for the benefit of the poor of the Minories for ever, their wishes were set at naught under the powers of the City Parochial Charities Act, 1883, and the funds were diverted to other purposes and other places.

At the time of the passing of this Act, the measure, as far as the parish of the Minories was concerned, was wholly unjustifiable, but all that can now be said is that it was premature; the resident population is now so small that, had it not been enacted when it was, something of a similar kind would have become a necessity.

The Distribution of Relief

The duty of distributing the 'poor's money' was originally delegated by the parishioners to a committee appointed for the purpose; subsequently the minister and the churchwardens, or the churchwardens by themselves, appear generally to have had the administration of relief entrusted to them, but always under the control of the vestry.

As a rule, the vestry decided the amount of relief to be given and the arrangements to be made for indoor paupers and the care of children, but left the churchwardens a discretionary power to deal with casual and urgent cases.

In the middle of the eighteenth century Parliament appears to have required returns to be made as to the way in which relief was given; in 1750 returns were made out, to be sent to the House of Commons, and in 1776 a paper of 'Queries' was received from the same source, which was duly filled up and returned.

The first entry in reference to the distribution of relief states the amount 'p^d and geven to the poore in this year an° 1567 by the apoyntment of m^r bean m^r blooke and m^r yonge.' Of these three gentlemen, Mr. Bean only was churchwarden; the other two formed, with him, the committee.

In 1576 the parishioners passed a formal resolution for regulating this important duty, as follows:—

> An order taken & agreed upon by us the parishioners of the Minories towchinge the receaving & distributing of the alms given & receaved in the said parishe of the Minories for the relief of the pore
>
> First that the two churchwardens that is M^r Marke Anthonie and M^r Younge & thees six persons hereafter named that is to say M^r Butler M^r Beane M^r Widcocks M^r Crane M^r M^r two of them everie week ether by them selves or by their deputies, shall receive at the church dore, & the ministration of the lords supper such alms and relief as charitable & well disposed people shall give towards the mayntenance of the pore
>
> Secondlie that after the receaving of all such alms & relief ether at the church dore, or otherwise at the ministration of the lords supper, the churchwardens & psons above named or the greater number of them shall come together and see what the summe or sumes so collected shall amount unto
>
> Thirdlie that none of the money collected shall be given w^th out the consent & appointment of the persons above named or the greatest parte of them, & such of out parishes as shalbe joyned to them Provided always that if they of the out parishes or any of them shalbe absent that it shall be lawfull for these appointed in the parishe to distribute the sume according to their godly discretion & as they shall think to be best for the glorie of god & the charitable relief of the pore afflicted Provided also further that this only shall indure & the persons herein specified shall execute the office, for one whole year & that afterward by consent of the

parishe ether it be furthered & continued or otherwise altered as to the parishe shall seem most convenient.

In addition to the information that this memorandum gives us of the care taken in the appointment of those who should administer the relief, and the completeness of the regulations to ensure that their duties should be adequately fulfilled, it also opens up another important phase of our subject, which is further illustrated by the accounts of the relief given, and that is, the union of other parishes for the purposes of poor relief, this parish forming a common centre.

One circumstance connected with this union is remarkable, viz., that while the out parishes received so much, and while their representatives were allowed to have a voice in the decision of the cases to be relieved, yet they contributed so little to the funds to be distributed. Beyond a sum of 28*s*. received in 1580 'of out parishes & procured by M^r^ Wyllcox of godly bretheren Due at mechellmas last,' there is absolutely no account of contributions made towards this common poor fund by the out parishes.

Possibly the poor of the Minories may have received, in like manner, doles from the other parishes joined with them, but there is no allusion to this; it would be interesting, therefore, to know if the records of other parishes can throw any light upon this subject.

It may have been that many of the dwellers in the surrounding districts had long partaken of the charities of the Minoresses, and after the monastery had ceased to be their home, the poor still flocked to those well-known gates for the relief to which they had been so long accustomed, and that the bishops and others, who succeeded the sisterhood in possession of those ancient buildings, continued in a similar way to distribute their alms, the parish eventually following the same course; and it is not unlikely that the fame thus acquired attracted worshippers to the little monastic church, whose offerings swelled the funds for the poor.

On the other hand, it must be noticed that the accounts for 1567 and 1568 contain no entries of sums given to non-parishioners; in fact, very little in those two years was given to the poor at all; but this, again, may be due to the fact that the church restoration had probably swallowed up all available funds, and, as the church must necessarily have been closed for a considerable time, collections would be few.

How long this system of inter-parochial relief lasted we have no means of ascertaining, for it came to an end during those years for which the accounts have not been preserved, but, as long as the parish continued to administer its own affairs, relief was frequently given to persons who had no connection with the parish and no legal claim upon it.

We must next turn our attention to the details of the relief given, and first of all we will take in hand

The Outdoor Relief of Parishioners

The entries referring to the distribution of relief to the poor in 1567 are the following:—

All mony p^{d} and geven to the poore in this year An^{o} 1567 by the apoyntment of M^{r} bean m^{r} blooke and m^{r} yonge

Imprim^{is} to dounses wyffe	ii^{s}
to goodwyffe ilger	vi^{d}
to george moores wyffe	xii^{d}
to mother Joan	viii^{d}
to John moore	xii^{d}
Itm̃ geven more to the poore the xxxi day of october	xi^{d} ob
Itm̃ the fyrste of novembr geven to mother Joan	i^{d} ob
Itm̃ the ii day geven to a poore woman	ii^{d}
Itm̃ to John moor the sam day	ii^{d} ob
Itm̃ geven also to a poore boy	ii^{d}

Sm^{a} vi^{s} ix^{d} ob

The next year's (1568) accounts contain the following entries of money given to the poor:—

Itm̄ geven to ilgers wyffe the sam day	vi^{d}
Itm̄ to John moore the sam day	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ to George moors wyffe	vi^{d}
Itm̄ to mother Joane	ii^{d}
Itm̄ to ffather bowens	iiii^{d}
Itm̄ geven to the poore the xvth of Aprell at the cōnion	vii^{d}

Itm̄ geven to ilger John moore george moore and mother Joane y^{e} sam day (xviiith Aprell)	ii^{s} viii^{d}
Itm̄ geven to the poore the sam day (ffyrste of May)	vi^{d}

From this, and other entries of a similar kind, it would seem that small sums were occasionally distributed, either in church, or at the church door, or in the parish, without any record of the individual recipients being made, and probably without any inquiry as to their needs or characters.

Among the accounts for 1569 we find :—

Item gave to the pore of the minories the x daye of Januarye	ii^{s}
Item geuen to the pore the xvi daye of februari of the mineries	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Itm geuen the xx daye of februari to the pore of the mineries	xix^{d}
Item geuen to the pore xiii daye of marche of the mineries	iii^{s}
Item geuen to goodi ellisanders the sam quarter lieng sicke	xii^{d}
Item geuen to the pore xi daye of aprell of the mineries	ii^{s} ii^{d}
Item geuen the xxiiii daye of June to the pore of thys pyrishe	ii^{s} viii^{d}
Item geuen to the pore and too the sicke in thys pyrishe in thys quarter	iii^{s} x^{d}
geuen to godman collier the same daye his wife being sicke	v^{s}
to the pore of our pyrshe the sam daye	ii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen to collier the same weke to buri his wife	iiii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the xvii daye of Julie to the pore of our parishe	ii^{s} i^{d}
geuen the xxiiii daye of Julie to the pore of our parishe	ii^{s} x^{d}
geuen to the pore of thys parishe the xxxi Deye of Julie	ii^{s} ii^{d}
and to John more	xvi^{d}
geuen the vii daye of august to nicols wife to her offeringe	ix^{s} ii^{d} ob
geuen the xxi daye of august at after nune too a pore woman being sicke of the plage	vii^{s} xi^{d}

geuen the xxviii daye of august to the pore of our parishe	ii^s xi^d
geuen to goodwife baryshe to by her a cote	v^s ix^d
geuen the xviii daye of september to the pore of thys parishe	iii^s i^d
geuen to myliner of our peryshe	xiii^s vi^d
geuen to the pore the xxiiii daye of october	vi^d
geuen to the pore of our parishe the same daye	ii^s iiii^d
geuen the xxx daye of october to sutton	v^s iiii^d
the xiii daye of november to the pore of our parisse	vii^d ob
the xx daye of november to the goodman hollinggame	ii^s vi^d
Item geuen to the pore of our parishe the xx daye of november	iii^s x^d ob
geuen to the pore at the church dore the xxvii of november	
geuen to Jhon more the vii daye of disember	iiii^s i^d ob
geuen the x daye of december to the pore of oure one parishe	xix^d
geuen the xviii daye of disember to pattison widdo	ii^s
the same daye to goodi elifander geuen	iii^s iiii^d
geuen to goodman millen the same daye	iii^s iiii^d
geuen to the widdo more the same daye	iii^s
geuen to father niger the same daye	ii^s vi^d
geuen to the pore the xxv daye of disember at the church dore	xii^d
geuen the xxvii daye of disember to hollinggame	xix^s vi^d

In 1570 :—

geuen the fyrst daye of Januari to the pore of our parishe & at the dore	
geuen to thomas milles	iii^s iiii^d
geuen the viii daye of Januari to the pore of our parishe	xxi^d
geuen to goodi berri at iii times	vi^d
geuen the xv daye of Januarie to normans wife	iii^s
geuen to bakers daughter at her going a waye	xvi^d
geuen to elingtons wife that her husband went a warfayre	iii^s ii^d
geuen to the pore at the church dore	xvi^d
geuen to pattisens widdo	ii^s
payed for chapman for his duties	xviii^d
and for a french wido	vi^d

in march to the pore of our parishe to milliner	iiii^{s} viii^{d}
to goodi ellisander	xxi^{d}
geuen to alse more	ix^{d}
to the widdo in alse mores house	vi^{d}
to father ilger	viii^{d}
payed for the kepinge of John more	ix^{s} vi^{d}
Geuen the ix daye of Aprell to Phillipe m^{r} Goughtes man	ix^{s} vii^{d}
geuen the same daye to the pore of our one parishe	iii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen the same daye to the pore at the church dore	xii^{d}
Geuen the same daye to m^{r} bloke for a maydes offeringe	ii^{s}
Geuen the xxx daye of aprell to the pore of our parishe	x^{d}
Geuen the xxviii daye of maye to the pore of our parishe and to the pore folkes at church dore	xiii^{d}
geuen the xviii daye of June to the pore of our parishe	xvi^{d}
Geuen the xxiii daye of June to the pore of our parishe	ii^{s}
geuen the sam daye to the pore at the church dore	xviii^{d}
geuen the xxvi daye of Julie to the pore of our parrishe	xv^{d}
geuen to the pore the same daye at the church dore	xvi^{d}
geuen the xxx daye of Julie to the pore of our parrishe	xii^{d}
geuen the same daye to the pore at the church dore	vii^{d}
geuen the vi daye of August to the pore at the church dore	xi^{d}
geuen the sam daye to the pore of our parishe	iiii^{s} viii^{d}
geuen the xiii daye of August unto the pore of our parishe	xii^{d}
geuen the xx daye of August to the pore of our parishe	xviii^{d}
geuen to the pore of our parishe the xxvii of August	xii^{d}
geuen the x daye of September to the pore of our parishe	vi^{d}
geuen the xvii day of September to the pore of our parishe	xiiii^{d}
and to the pore at the church dore the same daye	xiiii^{d}
geuen the xxiiii of September to the pore of our parishe	xii^{d}

geuen the sam daye to the pore at the church dore	xiiid
geuen the sam daye to a pore woman called damer	xiid
Gyuen the xvth of october to goodwife Alexnder	xvid
Gyvē the same day to ffather ylger	xvid
Gyvē the same day to goodman momforde	xvid
Gyvē the same day to ffather ffelton	xiid
Gyvē the same day to the poore at the church doore	xviiid
mr Bonā had a way wth hym for a poore womā called Jamen the same day	xiid
mr Bonams Aunte had the xxiith of October	iiiis
Gyvē the same day to Balme	vid
Gyvē the same to the poore at the churche doore	xiiid
Gyvē the same day to goodwife Alexander	iiid
Gyvē the same day to goodmā momford	iiid
Gyvē the same day to ffather felton	id
Gyvē the xxixth of october to the poore of or pishe	xiiid
Gyvē to the poore at the churche doore the same day	xid
Gyvē the same daye to Balme	vid
Gyvē to the poore of or pishe the vth of Novēber	iis
Gyvē the same daye to the poore at the churche doore	xid ob
Gyvē to Baume the same day	vid
Gyvē to goodwife Alexander the xii of Novēber	xvid
Gyvē the same day to goodmā momforde	xiid
Gyvē the same day to father ylger	xd
Gyvē the same day to ffather felton	vid
Gyvē the same day to widowe moore	iid
Gyvē the same day to the poore at the churche doore	xviiid
Gyvē the same day to goodwife Jameer	xiid
Gyvē the same day to ffather Ruddocke	xxd
Gyvē the same day to goodmā Balme	vid
Gyvē the xixth day of Novēber to goodwife Alexander	vd
Gyvē the same day to momford	vd
Gyvē the same day to ffather ffelton	iid
Gyvē the same day to a poore boy	iid ob
Gyvē to the poore at the churche doore the same day.	xiid
Gyvē the xxvi of Novēber to goodwife Alexander	vid
Gyvē to momford the same day	vid
Gyvē to father ffelton the same day	iiiid
Gyvē to father ylger the same day	iiiid
Gyvē to the poore at the churche dore the same day	xviiid
Gyvē to Anne ffysher the same day	xxd

Gyvē to momford the iii^{d} of Decēber	iiii^{d}
Gyvē to ffather ffelton the same day	iii^{d}
Gyvē to goodwife Alexander the same day	iiii^{d}
Gyvē to father ylger the same day	iiii^{d}
Gyvē to Balme the same day	vi^{d}
Gyvē to the poore at the churche door the same day	xvi^{d}
Gyvē the xth of Decēber to walt^{r} haynes	vi^{d}
Gyvē to patisons widow the same day	iiii^{d}
Gyvē to goodwife Alexander the same day	ii^{s} vi^{d}
Gyvē to father Ruddocke the same day	xx^{d}
Gyvē to momford the same day	xx^{d}
Gyvē to father ylger the same day	xx^{d}
Gyvē the same day to widow moore	iiii^{d}
Gyvē to ffather ffelton the same day	viii^{d}
Gyvē to Balme the same day	vi^{d}
Gyvē the same day to the poore at the churche doore	ii^{s}

The above are the complete series of entries which have reference to poor relief to parishioners up to the end of 1570. From that date we have made a selection only, which, from their quaintness or for other reasons, call for special notice.

1671 :—

And at the same time [when the overseers' account was audited] was payd to a Poore Woman forty one shillings to Ballance ye Accompt for looking after ye Widdow F. Brock for Seaven Months time.

1688 :—

To old Sarah	0.	3.	0
Fetching M^{rs} Daniells' gownd and ptcote out of pawn	00.	11.	6
Layd out for a woman that fell in labour in the Street	1.	15.	0
July 27, 1697. Expended a putting ye bagges on ye pensioners	0.	0.	9

'Ye bagges' are no doubt badges, which consisted of a coloured cloth worn on the right sleeve or shoulder, with the first letter of the parish and a 'P,' so as to mark all who received relief, and so discourage applicants.

Oct. 14, 1699. A neck of Mutton for M^{rs} Disny	0.	1.	4.
May 23, 1713. Gave Relief to a poor Antient woman whos arm was Broke by a Cart in our Parish	0.	1.	6.

Sep. 18. 1713. Laid out upon a man yt lay in ye Street likely to Dye	0.	0.	9.
Feby. 26, 17$\frac{19}{20}$. Gave to ye Woman that Cride at M^{r} Brints door after she was delivered . . .	0.	2.	0.
June 26, 1722. Gave relief to M^{r} Howell when void of a habitation	0.	2.	6.
1728. Gave a Woman towards burying her Child yt Dyed in ye Street	0.	1.	0.
July 28, 1736. Gave relief to W^{m} Reeves he being shott in ye head & neck & was in ye Parish house till Cured	0.	1.	0.
Gave Relief for food to do. while under cure . .	0.	1.	0.
Jany. 12, 1760. Gave several poor persons taken very bad in the Street	0.	1.	6
Feby. 27, 1772. M^{r} Wright at the Sieve what the Black had	0.	1.	0.
May 18, 1774. To M^{rs} Wallis for her Husbands' lost time, having Catch't the Itch from a Child sent to Nurse (by order of Vestry)	0.	10.	6.
Oct. 31, 1780. p^{d} the Old Woman that Travils the Country	0.	10.	6.
Feby. 2. Paid to buy Miss Brush Cloaths to hide her nakedness	0.	7.	0.

Then, in addition to individual payments, distributions were occasionally made of 'colds' (coals) and beef and mutton on Christmas Day. Once there is an entry of

a leg of mutton &c. for the poor in the parish House being Easter Sun^{d}	0.	2.	6.

Occasionally the parish officers took the sensible course of setting up poor people in some little business, so that they might earn their own living and not be further chargeable to the parish. For instance:—

Dec^{r} 19, 1721. Gave to Eliz: Wilkinson to put her in a way, by Selling Fish & Herbs &c in order to keep her from ye Parish She being incapable of hard Labour by reason of her weakness . . .	0.	10.	0.
Sep. 13, 1726. paid for Cloaths & Shurts to fitt William Munt to Sea	1.	7.	6.
Dec^{r} 14, 1733. Gave to ye widow of John Parr to buy glass's to put in a way to get her living . .	0.	12.	0.

Oct. 17, 1738. For two pair of Tongs and a Slice for M^{r} Few	0.	3.	0.
also 1^{lb} 4^{oz} of Tortoishell 1. 1. 0. & an Anvill weight 58^{lbs} 12^{oz} = 27^{s}			
Feby. 19, 1739. Gave Jno Porter and wife money to By Basketts and fish whereby to Get their livelihood	0.	7.	6.
Sep. 29, 1768. Gave M^{rs} Partridge to Buy Tools & the man to learn her to Polish Gun Barrells	0.	9.	3
Nov^{r} 17, 1770. To M^{rs} Maddox to turn Oyster Merch^{t}	0.	3.	6.
May 30, 1774. Gave Bridget Rowley to buy Fish to Sell to live on the Profits	0.	3.	0.
Oct. 19, 1784. Gave William Wood to go down to work at his Trade as Clogmaker in Norfolk	1.	5.	0.

Occasionally there are entries of the payment of small doctors' bills or the purchase of medicine :—

In 1570 :—

Item geven to knightlie for healing of enlisander broctensynes maydes lege	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
Item geven to the same mayd whilst she laye sicke in this quarter	iiii^{s} vi^{d}

In 1629 :—

	£	s.	d.
more thene was pd a surgeon for curing father leng of a sore legg	01	00	0

The fee for bleeding was a shilling, the same amount being paid in 1692 and 1765; in the latter case the patient was bled in church. Probably she was taken ill there and was bled at once. In the former case there was also a bill

ffor phissick for him being broke out all over his body	0.	3.	6.

The churchwardens were at times not above buying quack medicine, for in 1788 they bought

Jno King a Bottle of Brinkworths Drops for fitts	0.	2.	0.

For many years a regular item in the parish accounts was a Christmas box of 10*s.* for the porters and beadles of St.

Thomas's Hospital ('the Auspitle,' as it is in one place described). These donations are an evidence of the benefits conferred upon poor parishioners by that institution.

Assistance was also sometimes given to help persons to go to Bath (the Bath, as it is always called). In one instance the disease which it was hoped the Bath would cure was leprosy.

May 19, 1716. Gave relief to a poor Woman that Lodg'd in this Parish, going to ye Bath w^th^ her Child to be Cur'd of ye Leprosie	0. 2. 0.

INDOOR PAUPERS

During the Commonwealth a considerable portion of the buildings belonging to the Ordnance Department was converted into a workhouse, but there is no evidence to show that the parish had anything to do with it, or that they made any use of it, and after the Restoration the Crown, on regaining possession of the buildings (as already related), otherwise disposed of them.

The first reference in the parish books as to any provision being made for lodging the poor folk is in 1692, when the vestry rented two houses 'of ye Right hon^{ble} ye Lord Granderson' as habitations for the parish paupers, and for the next fifty years they took care of their own poor within the parish; but, either because they found the accommodation insufficient, or for some other reason, in 1749[1] they adopted the plan of boarding out at least a portion of the paupers; still, as 'the Parish Poor house' is mentioned in 1789, it is probable that they continued to maintain some of them at home. Those who were sent away were first of all provided for at Paddington, and we henceforward read of periodical visits being made to the poor by the officers of the parish, which always entailed something being spent at the parish charges. In 1812 as much as £11 4*s.* was spent over a dinner 'Visiting the Infant poor.'

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[1] By an Act passed in 1722 parish officers were authorised, with the consent of the parishioners in vestry, to purchase or hire houses, and to contract with any persons for the lodging, maintaining, and employing all such poor persons as should desire relief, and any poor persons refusing to be so lodged were not to be entitled to relief.

In 1753 the paupers were removed to Poplar.

In 1771 a further change was made, and an agreement was entered into with 'Mr. Dean and Company' at Bromley 'for farming the Poor.'

Again, in 1774 they were transferred to Mr. John Powell of Black Fryers. Here they remained for thirteen years, when Bethnal Green was fixed upon for their abode; but two years later, on November 3, 1789, 'a Vestry was held in order to take into consideration the state of the poor that are farmed out and on other Affairs M^r Butler was ordered to deliver in proposals for maintaining & Cloathing the Poor in a Comfortable Manner.'

On December 21 of the same year, at another vestry, it was agreed 'that the Poor be removed from Miss Butler & Rocket's at Bethnall Green to M^r Overton's at Mile End on Christmas Day next to be by him maintained and Cloathed according to his proposals which are stuck in at the beginning of this Book.' (They are not there now.)

In 1801, and for some time afterwards, Mr. Overton obtained frequent extra grants on account of the high price of provisions.

In 1814 some of the poor were placed under the charge of Mr. Ed. Deacon at Hoxton; and from 1816 to 1821 all the poor were under his care, the sums paid to him amounting to between £500 and £600 annually.

In 1822 there was again another change, the larger number of paupers in that year being lodged in the 'Whitechapel poor house,' kept by Mr. Robertson. This arrangement continued till 1825, when they were divided among three establishments, kept respectively by the above-mentioned Mr. Ed. Deacon, Messrs. Robinson and Willshire, and the trustees of Mr. Thomas Willis. After this one or two other names appear as those of persons having the charge of some of them, as Mr. Fry and Messrs. Wood and Peck.

Where those other establishments were we are not told, but we find in the accounts expenses incurred in visiting the poor at different times at Stepney, Merton, Weybridge, the Borough, and Gravesend.

It is possible that country places were selected for paupers in weak health, though there is nothing to show on what principle they were distributed among the various poorhouses.

Subsequently to 1830 Mr. Deacon had the charge of nearly the whole number until April 17, 1837, when the establishment of the Whitechapel Union put an end to this system of farming out the poor.

Pauper Children

We have no definite information as to the way in which pauper children were taken care of until 1713. They were then boarded out at Enfield with what are called 'Nurses,' and there are notes of periodical visits being paid to them by the churchwardens.

As far as we can judge from occasional notices, the parish officials did their best to ensure the proper treatment of their little charges, and when they discovered an instance of scandalous neglect they at once took remedial measures; but, on the other hand, it is evident that the supervision exercised must often have been very inadequate, and the consequent sufferings of the children severe. We read under date

Feby. 15, 172$\frac{8}{9}$. paid Horse hyre & other Charges in putting ye Children from one Nurse to another they being in a Starving Condition	0. 11. 8.
Layed out in Apparrell for ye Children they wanting everything for Cloathes	1. 2. 10½

How far this boarding-out system, apart from such failures, answered on the whole we have no means of knowing.

Occasionally the churchwardens thought it desirable to encourage the nurse to take an interest in the children by the bestowal of gratuities, as, for instance, on May 1, 1783, they

p^{d} to M^{rs} Pavitt the Nurse at Leytonstone, when Paine first Walked	0. 10. 0.

In one instance we read of children whose parents were evidently both living, but for some reason unable to support them, being removed from a nurse and restored to their father and mother, the whole family having a room allotted to them in the poorhouse. This was in 1789, when the vestry 'ordered that John & William Miers be taken from Nurse and delivered to their Father and Mother, who shall be allowed Three Shillings per Week to maintain them, and be allowed a Room in the Parish Poor house to live in.'

In 1817 the children were at Putney, and in 1829 they were at Mitcham.

Many of the children who became chargeable to the parish were foundlings, of whose parentage nothing was known. It was no uncommon occurrence to find these poor little unowned creatures lying on doorsteps. The parish officers then at once took charge of them, brought them up, educated, and apprenticed them. One hardship, however, they inflicted upon them which was somewhat cruel: they stamped their origin with such names as 'Jepthah Minories,' 'Aibigail Minories,' 'Mary Minories,' 'Vine Minories,' 'Elizabeth Minories,' 'Charity Minories,' 'Heydon Trinitie,' 'John Trinity,' 'Mary Trinity,' 'Thomas Heydon,' 'Hugh Heydon,' 'Mary Heydon,' 'Hester Heydon,' 'Baptista Heydon.'

The above-named Heydon Trinitie in 1710 cost the parish 2*s.*, spent 'on his Master and all officers when he was Deteckted in Pheaving.'

In one instance (in 1593) we find the parishioners obtaining 'leve of administracon' from the 'spiritual courte' to sell the goods of a man whose wife had died in his absence, leaving an infant son, the balance of the money realised by the sale, which amounted to £21 3*s.* 3*d.* after paying a multitude of expenses, being laid out for the benefit of the child. The child's father apparently died about the same time, and so the duty of maintaining this child permanently fell upon the parish; but some, at least, of the parishioners thought that he should be brought up differently from the parish foundlings, for three years afterwards we find a certain Gregorie Hopkins giving £12 to the churchwardens for his benefit, which sum was handed over to one John Hall, who was 'to bring him up & maintain him in meat drink & lodging & decent apparel.'

In quite early times it was the custom for the parish in certain cases to pay the premium for apprenticing children.

There is a memorandum in 1597 to the effect that 'Helen Thomas daughter of Lawrence Thomas Grocer' was bound apprentice to a seamstress named Helen Cockerill for nine years, the sum of three pounds being paid to the mistress.

In 1622 we read of £6 of the poor's money being 'bestowed in placing forth' a child. In later times children were constantly apprenticed by the parish.

It is, perhaps, now not generally known that in the seventeenth century there was yet another mode of disposing of pauper children, viz. by emigration to America. There is a memorandum,[1] dated May 1620, which refers to what was being done in that way then:—

> Memorandum that was . . . . from the Lo: Mayor of Lo[ndon reco]mendinge to . . . . the Inhabitants to pay a ce[rtain] sum of money . . . . the sendinge forth of diu̓se poore children to V . . . . w^{ch} warr^{t} soe rec^{d} was repeld by the pysh. And . . . . satisfac̄ōn in that behalf given to Sir W^{m} Cuc . . . . then Lo: Mayor in the Councell Chamber . . . . the Guild hall namely that his Lo:^{ps} Authority did not extend wthin the p^{r}cinct of the Minories to compell any such rate to be there levied. And that thereuppon, and after longe arguing the said matter in question in the place aforesaid, The said Lo: Mayor & Aldermen weare contented to reassume there said Warrt And did intreat the said pishons freely to contribute to soe charitable a purpose, and they did there uppon freely and in way of benevolence give into the hands of the said Lo: Mayor the sum of xxv^{s} towards the supply enclosed in a paper w^{ch} was supscribed 'The ffree Guift or Beneuolence of ye Parishons of the Trinity Minories Made towards ye sendinge forth of Poore Children to Virginia' w^{ch} in Liew of thankfullness being rec^{d} his Lo^{ip} then offered that if any poore children w^{ch} weare in any sort burthensom to o^{r} pish wee shold think fitt to send to virginia That then his Lo^{ip} & ye officers there wold take order that they shold be soe rec^{d}.

BRIDAL PORTIONS

Perhaps the most curious form of parochial relief was the bestowal of marriage portions, or fortunes, as they were variously described, upon brides; and, oddly enough, entries referring to this practice only occur at two periods; in the first instance in the years 1569 and 1570, and secondly between 1770 and 1785.

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[1] A corner of the page on which the memorandum is inserted is mutilated, and consequently a small portion is missing.

Those in 1569 and 1570 are as follows:

p^{d} to Thomas blouke for a maydes marige dwelling in chrich church parish	ii^{s} vi^{d}
to M^{r} Allen the quenes porter for a pore maydes marige	ii^{s}
to the pore maydes mayrige that master bonam spoke for	xii^{s} viii^{d}
to rafe hegiters mades marige dweling uppon the brige	iii^{s}
Gyvē the same day to m^{r} dods mayds mariadge	ii^{s} vi^{d}
geven the ix daye of Aprell to master croulis maydes marrige in surworke	xi^{s} xi^{d} ob

Between 1770 and 1785 the usual sum given to each bride was £2 2*s.* for the marriage portion, and £1 5*s.* 6*d.* for the marriage license, but sometimes it was a little less or more; once there is an additional item of 2*s.* for cakes, &c.

PAUPER SETTLEMENTS

The removal of paupers to parishes to which they were legally chargeable often caused the parochial officers an infinite amount of trouble and expense. It was sometimes very difficult to discover the proper settlement of individual paupers; consequently, in many instances, there were long discussions in the vestry before it was determined what course should be taken; and that was not all, for not infrequently the parishes to which the paupers were sent refused to receive them, and expensive litigation followed. Then they had in the same way to fight other parishes who attempted to foist paupers on them for whom they did not consider they were liable. The reasons for accepting or rejecting claims of settlement are rarely given. On August 13, 1729, there is, however, the following entry:

'Gave Relief to J^{no} Spern laying Claim to a Settlem^{t} by Servitude In this Parish in ye old house over ye Church i^{s}.' But generally the entries simply refer to what had to be paid in law costs, or to what was spent on the occasions that such questions had to be dealt with. For instance, in 1706, 'Spent on several occasions discussing the question whether Taylor had been legally passed to the Parish.' In the end the beadle was ordered to remove the said Taylor to Whitechapel.

Again on April 16, 1757, 'Expended on ye Officers of the Parish, in going about to give notice to all house keepers & Lodgers by bills D^{ld} to take ye names of ye Settlement of ye Lodgers in their Several Parishes, 3^{s} 6^{d}.' The latter entry shows that they not only used every endeavour to prevent paupers being fastened upon them, as individual cases arose, but that they took care to be beforehand, lest they might be called upon to give interim relief while a pauper's settlement was being inquired into.

It would almost seem that they went so far as to turn poor lodgers out of the parish, just as they had turned out disorderly lodgers; for we read, under date August 8, 1729, 'Spent after going about ye Parish to Inquire after ye Lodgers to prevent their becoming Chargable, 0. 2. 3.'

It is certain that they spared no pains, and were always ready to spend something upon themselves in getting rid, in any way they could, of all persons likely to be an expense to them. For example:

Jany 30. 1694. Spent with the Churchwarden at Criple gate discussing with him about a Woman & Child he passed hither 0. 1. 0.

Feby 7. Spent with the same Churchwarden 0. 1. 9.

—— 9. Spent with the same Churchwarden when we got clear of the woman & child 0. 1. 2.

May 17. 1694. spent agoing about the parish with the officers to warn some poore people out.

April 15. 1698. Expended about getting Ridd of Mary Holtworth at my Lord Mayor's.

Sometimes sums of money were given to the poor themselves, to induce them to go elsewhere.

July 7. 1725. Gave to send away a Man that was very poor being Prenticed in this Parish & like to be Chargeable 0. 7. 6.

Feby 24. 1784. To getting a poor Black Man out of the Parish 3^{s} 6^{d}.

Not unfrequently the dread of having to pay the funeral expenses of some non-parishioner seems to have banished from the churchwardens' breasts all feelings of humanity.

Dec^{r} 2. 1715. Gave to a poor woman & other Charges to Get her out of ye Parish y^{t} fell down & likely to dy. 1^{s}. 1^{d}.

Dec^{r} 20. 1721. Charge in getting a Woman out of ye Parish y^{t} Fell down in Haydon Yard, & was Supposed to be a Dying 0. 1. 6.

There are many other similar entries.

Many a poor woman too, who was near her confinement, had a small sum given her to go elsewhere, in order that the settlement of the expected child might be in some other parish. The coarse language in which these entries are made forbids their reproduction.

The expense simply of removal of a pauper, when there was no litigation, was sometimes considerable, especially when the churchwarden thought it necessary to accompany the pauper to her destination. We may take the following as an example:

June 29. 1794.

M^{rs} Lewes' passage to Birmingham . . .	10. 0
Gave her for expenses on the road . . .	3. 7
The stage for self down and back . . .	3. 12. 0
My expenses for 5 days	1. 15. 0

The largest sum ever paid for a removal was in 1842, when £13 4*s*. was spent in sending a family to Penrith.

It is curious that for some few years after the parish had become a part of the Whitechapel Union in 1837 it still continued to deal with the question of removing paupers to their proper settlements.

Relief to Non-Parishioners

It has already been stated, that in 1569, and for some years subsequently, a system prevailed of granting relief to many persons who had no connection with the parish, much larger sums being annually distributed in this way than were given to the poor of the parish. The following are the entries of the sums so spent, in the years 1569 and 1570:—

1569.

Item geuen to stolton a hoysher in fynche layne . .	x^{s}
geuen to a pore man the xxvi daye of June that M^{r} hides broghte w^{ch} hath ben longe in prison . . .	xii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen the x daye of Julie to a pore woman of the kinges allie	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the xvii daye of Julie to another pore woman in the thre kynges allie	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen to a nother pore man in S^{t} catterns [S^{t} Katherines] w^{ch} hath ben longe sicke	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the xxiiii daye of Julie to a pore wido dwelling in all hollos [All Hallows] pryshe in the Jhoyners rentes	xiii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen the same time to beteres wiles of S^{t} butols [S^{t} Botolphs] parishe	ii^{s}
geuen the same daye to the prisners of the hole of the counter [whole of the County]	xvi^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the xxxi daye of Julie to a pore woman of the iii kinges allie	ii^{s}
geuen too a pore woman for my lords a londons licens .	viii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen the vii daye of August to ellen Johnson by the busshupes lisens	vi^{s} ix^{d}
geuen to elisander brockenshue the xxi daye of August dwelling at blac wall	xv^{d}
geuen the sam daye at after nune to a pore woman being sicke of the plague	vii^{s} xi^{d}
geuen the xxviii daye of august to John baker of whitechappel parishe	xvi^{s} vii^{d}
geuen to John colman the iiii daye of September prysoner in the whitlian	xv^{s} x^{d}
geuen the same daye at afternone to a pore scholler of cambridge	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the xi daye of September to a pore woman by the busshupes of London's lisens	xi^{s} v^{d} ob
geuen the xviii daye of September to a pore woman called standen in surworke [Southwark] . . .	ix^{s} iii^{d}
geuen the sam daye at afternone to harry gates by the busshupes of london's lisens	iii^{s} viii^{d}
geuen the sam daye to the wido stolton of saynt myhils parishe in cornwell [S^{t} Michaels Cornhill] . . .	x^{s} iii^{d}

geuen to a pore woman in chrichchurch parishe by the busshupes of londons lisens	ii^s v^d
geuen the ii daye of october to a pore scholler of oxford	xii^s
geuen to a prisoner out of turkey the ix daye of october by the bushupes of london's lisens	xi^s
geuen the xvi daye of october to a pore mayd and a woman by my lord of londons lisens	x^s
and at after noune the same daye to a scote	v^s iii^d
geuen to mother John of saynt buttoles parishe the xxv daye of october	iii^s vi^d ob
geuen the xxx daye of october to tomson of saynt buttoles parishe	v^s iiii^d
geuen the same daye to a mayson at basinges hall liing bedderid	v^s iiii^d
geuen to motther hand of Saynt buttoles parishe	viii^d
and the same daye geuen to thomas beste of saynt buttoles parishe	xii^d
geuen the xi daye of nouember to goodwife stringer of whitechappel parishe	iiii^s i^d
mother hand of saynt buttoles parishe	ii^s
geuen to m^r sently the xiii daye of november fore a pore man	ii^s viii^d
the same daye to a pore woman of ratlyfe that had v children	ii^s viii^d
the same daye to a pore woman of saynt catterns	ii^s viii^d
the xx daye of november geuen to mother katterne of surworke	ii^s ii^d
to a pore woman of saynt Katterns that had iiii children	iii^s vi^d
the same daye to mother hand of saynt buttoles parishe	xvi^d
to pore men at the church unknone	xii^d
to m^r brooke of saynt katterns for a pore man	xii^d
geuen the xxvii daye of nouember to a strangers widdo of whit chappell	iii^s
the same daye to Johnes the pinner of saynt mihils parishe in cornwell	iii^s
geuen to John pint of S^t tanlynges the same daye	iii^s
item geuen the iiii daye of disember to philipes in chrich church paryshe of byliter layne	iii^s iiii^d
geuen to a pore man that lyes buried in gutter layne the same daye	iii^s iiii^d
geuen to a pore man of saynt buttoles parishe dwellinge in hounsdich the same daye	ii^s vi^d

geuen to the goodwife helingtone of chrich church parishe	xii^{d}
geuen the x daye of disember to a lamman [lame man] iii buttol layne that goes with ii chroches	iii^{s} viii^{d}
geuen the same daye to pore man of chrich churche parishe that kepe a schoole	iii^{s} viii^{d}
geuen to too pore wemen of saynt buttoles parishe	xii^{d}
geuen to a pore man of hounsdich at the furder end of that had his eie strocken out wth a goune [gun]	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the xxv daye of disember to a pore woman of chrich church parishe	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen to a pore minister w^{ch} is forgot	xvi^{d}
geuen to a pore ministers wife called an augustine the xxvi of disember	v^{s}
geuen the same daye to bakers dauter of whitechappell parishe	v^{s}
geuen the same daye to a pore man of saynt catterns	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the same daye to stringers wife of whitechappell parishe	ii^{s}

1570.

geuen the fyrst daye of Januari to andros a duch man of saynt donstons parishe	iii^{s} viii^{d}
geuen the same daye to Jhon page of the parishe of saynt tanbarns [S^{t} Albans] in bushupes gat street	iii^{s} viii^{d}
geuen to philipes of chrich church parishe at iiii times	xvi^{d}
geuen the viii of Januari to Jhon garfit by london wall	ii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen to a mason at basinges hall that is bedrent	ii^{s}
geuen the xv daye of Januarie to goodmans wido of saynt buttoles parishe	xvi^{d}
geuen to a pore scholler John barker	ii^{s}
geuen to goodie chapman the xxiiii daye of aprell w^{ch} we had for gotten dwelling in S^{t} Gilses parishe wth out crippell gate	vi^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the xxx daye of aprell to harnes wife of whitechappell parishe	iiii^{s} viii^{d}
geuen the iiii daye of June to a pore man called dauson dwelling at clearken well	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the ix daye of June to a pore man wth the quenes brode seale dwelling at broken whorse	v^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen the xviii daye of June to ii pore women of S buttoles parishe	v^{s}

geuen the xxiii of June to a pore widdo of whitechappell parishe called goodi martiall	x^{s}
geuen the same daye to barnard for a pore woman of S^{t} buttoles parishe	ii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen the xxvi daye of Julie Ellen Esselber of sant michells parishe in cornwell	x^{s}
geuen the xxx day of Julie to John baker a scholler of cambridge	v^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen to a pore woman of chrich church parishe the same daye	x^{d}
geuen the same daye to a pore woman y^{t} broght the quenes licens for the house y^{t} was burnid at wansworthe	iiii^{s} vii^{d}
geuen to goodwife knowles of S^{t} buttoles parish wth out algate	vi^{d}
geuen the vi daye of august to a pore woman y^{t} mistris sentlye sent hether	vii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen to william Jardine the sam daye w^{ch} had the quenes licens	ii^{s}
geuen to Thomas blouke for a maydes marige dwelling in chrich church parishe	ii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen to a pore woman of whitechappell parishe called burrns	xviii^{d}
geuen the vi daye auguste to a strange pore man	vi^{d}
geuen the xiii of auguste to father stokes a puterer of crech church [Christ Church] parishe	iiii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen to a man of S^{t} tulies parishe being sicke & bedred dwelling in the ames house	iiii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen to Phillipes of crech church parishe at diuers times	iii^{s} vi^{d}
geuen to John rogges ye xx daye of august of sant buttoles parishe	xvi^{d}
geuen the xxvii daye of august to John hilleard of S^{t} Katterans hat maker	v^{s}
geuen to mountayne y^{e} xxvii daye of august of creche church parishe	iiii^{s} iiii^{d}
geuen to a pore woman of S^{t} buttoles parishe dwelling in iii kinges allie	xii^{d}
geuen the x daye of September to marget hunt of S^{t} buttoles parishe	xxii^{d}
geuen to master feldes xvii daye september for the pore of S^{t} gileses parishe wth out creppell gat	xvii^{s} vi^{d}

geuen to m^{r} wilcokes y^{e} same daye for a pore scholler called harrie hopkinges	viii^{s} i^{d}
geuen the xxiiii daye of september to a stranger w^{ch} is a minister w^{ch} m^{r} wilcokes spoke for	xiii^{s}
geuen the sam daye to a pore man of cambridge shere y^{t} had the quenes licens	iiii^{s}
geuen to a pore man at westmester y^{t} kepes m^{r} cobboms house being veri sicke	xii^{d}
Gyuen to a poore womā of white chapell pishe the fyrste day of October called Scote	iii^{s} viii^{d}
Gyuen the viii of October to Alexander Brockenshaw of the pishe of whitechappell	ix^{s}
Gyuen the same day to a poore womā called Scote of the pishe of white chappell	v^{s} iiii^{d}
Gyvē to ffather ffroge of S^{t} katheryns the same day	iiii^{s}
Gyvē the same day philips of crychurche pishe	vi^{d}
Gyvē the same day to a poore woman of S^{t} Geordgis pishe in Southwarke	ii^{s} xi^{d}
Gyvē to Philips of crychurche pishe the same daye	vi^{d}
Gyvē the xxixth of october to a poore womā of White-chappell pishe	xvi^{d}
Gyvē the same day to a poore womā at Ratcleef	iiii^{d} ob
Gyvē to Philips of chrichurche pishe the same day	vi^{d}
Gyvē the vth of Novēber to mother kyde in heaward lane	xii^{d}
Gyvē Phips of crychurche pishe the same day	vi^{d}
Gyvē the xiith of Novēber to Philips of crichurch	xx^{d}
Gyvē the same daye to goodwife Jones of S^{t} Michaell pishe in cornehule	xx^{d}
Gyvē the xix of Novēber to Philips of chrichurch	vii^{d}
Gyvē the xxvith of Novēber to Philips of chrichurch	vi^{d}
Gyvē to a mason that lieth bedred at bassynge haule the same day	iii^{s} vi^{d}
Gyvē to Jonson that was my lorde of londons man at thother syde the Sea same day	xx^{d}
Gyvē the iii of Decēber to Philips of crychurche	vii^{d}
Gyvē to a poore womā that had her child hurt wth a great goone in the pishe of all halowen Staynyng	iii^{s}
Gyvē to a poore mā of S^{t} Buttalphes pishe wthout bishopes gate called John driscof	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
Gyvē to godwife Alerton of S^{t} Dianes pishe the same day	ii^{s} vi^{d}

Gyvē the xth of Decēber to Phips of crychurch . .	vii^{d}
Gyvē to ffather humphrey of S^{t} butolphes at algatt .	ii^{s}

From the consideration of the above statements of the money given away to persons who were not parishioners, during 1569 and 1570, it will be observed, that the parishes whose inhabitants received most relief were Whitechapel, St. Botolph Aldgate, St. Katherine Cree, St. Michael Cornhill, St. Katherine (next the Tower) and St. Giles without Cripplegate, and of these Whitechapel and St. Botolph's had by far the largest share.

Of these parishes, St. Botolph's, Cree Church, Whitechapel, and St. Katherine's probably formed the group which were 'joined' with the Minories for the purpose of poor relief; for although St. Michael's Cornhill and St. Giles without Cripplegate received about the same as St. Katherine's, and nearly as much as Cree Church, yet it was only given on very few occasions, and in large sums, seemingly pointing to some special causes for the donations, independently of the systematic relief of the ordinary poor.

But the out-relief given was by no means confined to the poor of these adjoining parishes. We find occasional gifts to persons living in the parishes of All Hallows Stayning, St. George's Southwark, St. Dunstan, St. Dianis, St. Tulis [St. Olaves ?], St. Taulyns, St. Taubarns [St. Albans ?] in Bishopsgate Street, and at Clerkenwell, Basing Hall, Blackwall, Ratcliff, Gutter Lane, Botolph's Lane, Finch Lane, and London Wall.

Then there were many gifts, sometimes of considerable value, to persons whose place of residence is not specified. Some of these belonged to the class which would now be designated as a tramps, such as 'a Scot,' a 'talisman' [tallyman], 'a stranger,' 'a poor man,' 'to poor men at the Church unknown.' It was such as these, no doubt, who were from time to time relieved at the church door.

But besides these, many, whom we should now consider as of quite a different grade of society, were frequently in the habit of receiving doles from the parish authorities—poor ministers, and the wives of such, and scholars of Oxford and

Cambridge; considerable sums were also given to persons in prison.

Many of those who presented themselves to the churchwardens for relief, came fortified with a license; these, until the end of 1569, were obtained from the Bishop of London, after that they are described as the Queen's licenses; one man is said to have come with the Queen's broad seal.

In after times, when the union with the neighbouring parishes, for the purposes of the more systematic poor relief, had come to an end, the parish authorities still continued to give poor relief to strangers in distress, some of whom came with no further recommendation than their own statements of their poverty; but the system of granting licenses to beg, to persons in distress, long prevailed; these, which earlier had been obtained from the Bishop, afterwards being described as Queen's licenses, were eventually called 'passes' and were obtained from the Justices. We read in 1694 of the churchwardens spending 3*s.* 6*d.*, 'upon the Constable and some others to waite upon the Justisses to get a pass for wilcocks his wife & Children,' evidently that they might go and beg elsewhere.

It is strange that such an unsatisfactory and haphazard mode of administering relief should so long have continued in the country, but, at the same time, it is most interesting to note the various forms of poverty and distress, which were, for so long a time, dealt with in this way. It is melancholy to find, as in 1569 and 1570, the number of 'ministers' who were constrained to beg from parish to parish, to obtain a miserable pittance. Up to the end of the seventeenth century, such entries as the following are of constant occurrence:—

Gave to a Poor Decayed Minister	00=01=00
Mr Gregory a poor Minister . . .	00=01=00
Given to Mr Hamilton a decayed Minister . .	00=01=00
Relief to a poor aged Minister having a wife . .	00=01=06
Relief to a poor Minister	00=01=06
Gave Reliefe to a poore Clergiman in Distresse who used to read for Mr Swinfin	00=01=00
Gave a poor decayed Ministr Widdow . . .	00=01=00

'Poor Decayed Schoolmasters' seem to have been as numerous as 'Decayed Ministers,' and were relieved on much the same scale. There is, however, no entry of this kind later than 1707.

It is remarkable that, while so many clergymen and schoolmasters were reduced to the level of professional beggars, they very rarely produced passes; perhaps their calling was considered a sufficient guarantee of their worthiness.

Very often the distress, in consequence of which relief was sought, is stated to have resulted from some disastrous fire, or from the sea breaking in, or from other special causes. Relief to persons who had been burnt out in various parts of the country are of constant occurrence; on two occasions special collections were made for relief of sufferers from this cause; in 1671, £5 8*s.* 9½*d.* was collected 'ffor ye Relief of ye Sufferers by ffire in ther Sugar House at Coldharber Ln^{o}.' and in 1700, £5 5*s.* 10*d.* was collected (the list of subscriptions being entered in the accounts) 'towards ye Relief of ye Poor Suferers by ye late Dreadful fire at Warwick.' In 1644, two briefs are stated to have been collected, but not called for, amounting to 5*s.* 6*d.* and 8*s.* 6*d.*, for repairing of a haven; this would probably be in consequence of damage done by the sea. In 1694, relief to the extent of a shilling was given 'to severall Poore people that the sea broke in & washed down their houses in Lancishure.'

The various troubles of a sailor's life often made successful appeal to the churchwardens' sympathies, as instance the following entries:—

Dec^{r} 6. 1691. To some poore Seamen	0 . 1 . 0.
Jan^{y} 9. 1692. To some poore Seamen cast on shore .	0 . 1 . 0.
April 14. 1692. Given to 2 poor lame seamen . .	0 . 1 . 0.
Gave a Seamans widow her husband being cast away .	0 . 1 . 0.
April 15. 1729. Gave Some Sailors grievously burnt by Lightning Rec^{d} by Justices	0 . 1 . 6.
April 8. 1735. Gave a Parcell of Sailors y^{t} Came with a Pass backt by ye Lord Mayor	0 . 0 . 6.

Not unfrequently relief was sought by those who, in one way or other, had been reduced to poverty and distress through their country's wars. Sometimes they were wounded soldiers, sometimes those who had been taken prisoners, or whose property had been captured by the enemy. In 1692, a collection was made in the parish 'for the redemption of Poor captives from their slavery under ye Turke.' There were sixty-seven contributors and the sum collected amounted to £7 2*s.* 1*d.* Under date September 13, 1693, we read 'relieved a man that was taken prisoner in the west indies . . . . 0-0-3.'

Assistance given towards the ransom of captives from the Turks was not confined to British subjects; we read in 1695 of 1*s.* being given to a German, towards paying his ransom of £4,000 to the Turks. In 1700, there was again a collection made, which amounted to £22 13*s.* 1d., 'toward the Redemption of poore Captives.' In 1718, there is an entry of 1*s.* given 'to a poor man a slave in Turkey.' Then we find in 1728, 3*s.* given 'to 13 Galley Slaves recommended by ye Justices,' and in 1729, 2*s.* 6*d.* given 'to 24 Algeran Slaves recommended by the Justices.'

With regard to the relief of sufferers, who owed their misfortunes to wars which were waged nearer home, we have few details, except during the reigns of William and Mary and of Queen Anne. It is most probable that much assistance of that kind must have been given in the times preceding the accession of William and Mary, but, from the paucity of our records for so many years, we are left without information, the only exception being the account of the rating of the parish in 24 Charles II. (1672) 'for the reliefe of such maymed officers and souldiers as had faith served his Ma^{tie} & his Royall ffather in the late warrs.'

Since the accession of the Georges, there is no allusion to relief of that nature being given by the parish.

The following are some of the entries referring to such relief during the period above indicated :—

June 25. 1692—Relieved an aged man & his 2 Sons who had his house burnt & all he had taken away by ye Duke of Borwick Ireland	00-02-00.
May 10. 1693—given to 2 men y^{t} were taken by ye french & had a landing pass	0-01-00.

June 15. 1693—paid to Margaret Greening taken by a french privatear & lost 600£ attested by ye Mayor of harwich & other Justices	0–2–0.
June 17. 1693—given to 3 men that were taken by ye french	0–1–0.
June 21. 1693—given to two persons taken by ye french and there families	0–1–0.
June 26. 1693—paid to 3 families taken by ye french & retaken p^{r} Dutch	0–1–6.
June 27. 1693—given to 2 families taken by ye french coming from new england	0–1–6.
August 5. 1693—relieved 3 persons taken p^{r} french & got a shore at orford Suffolk	0–0–6.
August 31. 1693—relieved a family taken by ye french	0–1–0.
Jany 4. 1694—relieved a family taken p^{r} french coming from new England.	
Jany 24. 1694—paid Alice gray her husband kild on board the royall william	0–0–4.
Jany 30. 1694—relieved six wounded men from wells Norfolk	0–0–6.
May 16. 1694—Gave three officers and therteen seamen which were going to Portsmouth with a pass	
Aug^{t}. 4. 1694—Gave four seamen and three soldiers y^{t} came from being Prisoners in ffrance & going from Poole to Colchester with a pass	00–01–00.
Dec^{r} 15. 1694—Gave a Minister & his wife & seven children y^{t} were Taken by ye French & were sett ashore at Pool & had a pass	00–01–06.

The above are some only of the entries of relief given to poor sufferers from the wars, but they are enough to demonstrate the widespread distress that the wars occasioned and the unsatisfactory means by which its alleviation was attempted.

For the next two years, the same tale continues to be told over and over again, but after that it becomes much less frequent, though, for some years to come, such entries as the following are still to be met with :—

Oct 17. 1697—expended about going to Hicks Hall & ye Steward of ye Court about ye Summons for ye bench of Justices for collecting money for maimed Shoudgers & seamen	0–2–6.

Feb^{y} 18. 170$\frac{3}{4}$—Gave relief to William hamboltun he having lost 600£ and his Right arme in a marchant Ship by ye ffrench	0–1–0.
March 15. 170$\frac{6}{7}$—Gave Relief to two poore women with five Children whose husbands were killed in one of the Queens Shipps and who were passed by the Justices of Yarmouth and directed to the Churchwardens of such parishes as they should travel through in their way to Oxford	0–4–0.
June 28. 1711—Gave to one who being Lately a Lieu^{t} in ye army he being Lame & in great distress	0–1–0.

Looking back over the years that these records cover, it is abundantly clear that the parishioners of the Minories always regarded the care of the poor and distressed as a duty, which must never be neglected by the parish, as a community. It is of course impossible to determine how far the relief given to outdoor paupers was adequate, or sufficiently systematic, or what was the character of the accommodation in parochial workhouses, or in the private establishments, where the paupers were boarded out.

Where, in common with other parishes, they distinctly failed, was in the total lack of any concerted plan in the disbursement of doles to beggars of all descriptions. Notwithstanding the system of 'licenses' and 'passes,' it is only too evident that relief was frequently granted to applicants, who pleaded poverty, in the most lax and indiscriminate way. Money was given by the parochial authorities to those who asked for it, without any knowledge of their identity or their needs. There is a memorandum, dated 1830, recording that

> The Churchwardens laid before the Vestry a recommendation from the Society of Vestry Clerks to the following purport.
>
> That it be now recommended to the severall Parishes within the Metropolis and its vicinity, as the most effectual means of preventing fraud, that their Paupers should be paid only on one day in each week to commence at the same time.

The plan was adopted, and a definite time was fixed for this general distribution of relief.

That it was possible for individuals to go from one parish to another, receiving doles from each, when it is not unlikely that many of the recipients were quite able to support themselves, is a conclusive proof, if no other were forthcoming, of the absolute and complete breakdown of the system of outdoor relief, as it was then administered. Carelessness and laxity were habits of long standing among parochial officials, possibly inherited from monastic times, but at this date the growing recklessness with which the ratepayers' money was squandered, in the country as well as in the towns, had reached such a pitch that it became clear that, unless something were done, national ruin must sooner or later be the result. The Poor Law Act of 1834 was the outcome of an endeavour to bring about a better state of things, and it met with a large measure of success. By its provisions, many of the old abuses were rendered impossible. It was henceforth illegal to give out-relief to able-bodied paupers, for poor law purposes the smaller parishes throughout the country were united and known henceforth as Unions. For some unexplained reason, the parish of Holy Trinity Minories, was attached to the Union of Whitechapel, instead of to the City, to which its position and historical descent pointed that its natural partnership belonged.

Some, however, of the evils which the Act of 1837 was intended to eradicate have still been only partially exorcised. In the enormous populations which many of the Unions contain, it is impossible to obtain accurate and reliable information as to the real condition of applicants for relief, and, even in Unions where this can be approximately accomplished, there is no doubt whatever that the general expectancy of 'parish pay,' when other resources fail, is destructive to the spirit of healthy self-reliance. It is distinctly a discouragement to thrift; it diminishes the feeling of responsibility that should rest upon the members of the family to do their utmost to support one another in trouble, sickness, or old age, and is consequently a source of national demoralisation. There are Boards of Guardians who have for years acted on the principle of giving no outdoor relief whatever, except in very special cases, and the results of this policy go far to justify their action. The subject unquestionably presents great difficulties from whatever side it is viewed, but we incline strongly to the opinion that, if only well-directed efforts of the truly charitable could be relied upon to deal adequately and satisfactorily with all cases of want and distress among the deserving poor, the true solution would lie in the absolute discontinuance of all legal outdoor relief.

Again, it is not only in reference to outdoor relief that our records, in common with those of so many other parishes, afford us so much food for reflection, but also as regards the care and treatment of pauper children. Boarding out and emigration were tried many years ago and abandoned, not because the systems in themselves were bad, but because they practically broke down from mismanagement and want of proper supervision. There can be no doubt whatever, that the best training for a child is that which can be most nearly associated with the idea of home, and when adequate supervision can be secured, and a suitable foster-mother found, many a labourer's cottage satisfies the need; but where these are not forthcoming, a well-managed, and not too large institution often admirably fulfils the purpose.

We may well shudder at the thought of what must have been the lot of poor children 'which were in any sort burthensome' sent some 300 years ago to Virginia, but, while we repudiate the principle that Greater Britain affords a convenient dumping-ground for the incorrigible, we recognise, as did our forefathers, after a fashion, long ago, that in our Colonies there are opportunities for those to make their way successfully in the world whose chances are but limited in the old country. Happily this is beginning to be realised by those on whom the responsibility falls of providing for the upbringing of our pauper children. It is not unlikely that before long the establishment of farm homes in Canada may solve many of the problems that still perplex Boards of Guardians.

Opinions, no doubt, differ widely as to the best methods of relieving poverty and distress, without increasing the evil it is sought to alleviate, but no little help towards arriving at a correct judgment can be found in the study of the results that the working of the poor law for three centuries has produced, and to this end our records offer a by no means contemptible contribution.

CHAPTER XVIII

HISTORICAL NOTICES

In addition to the various statements contained in the records, which have reference to the more immediate concerns of the parish, there are many incidental notices, which are not without interest, as marking historical dates, and as an evidence that the sympathies of the parochial authorities were not altogether confined to the narrow circumference of their own affairs.

Many references to the relief of sufferers from the wars, and to the efforts to obtain recruits for the army, and to obtain money for the necessities of the Government, have already been given. The following mainly consist of entries of payments for the purchase of special forms of prayer, or for ringing the church bells on occasions of public rejoicing.

As any note of detailed expenditure is very rare between 1570 and 1686, we have little to record during that period under these heads. There is, however, one entry in 1599, which fixes the date of an earthquake, probably of some severity. 'The Church wardens A bove named have adyt 3 booke mor on ys A Register bocke y^{e} second y^{e} in Junciones & y^{e} 3 a prear bocke consarnynge the Erthe quacke.'

The next historical note has reference to the accession of William & Mary, viz. the purchase, in Feb^{y} 168$\frac{8}{9}$ first of 'a prayer book for ye prince of Orange,' and later on in the month, 'of a prayer book for YE King & Queen.'

On March 2, 16$\frac{89}{90}$ 'a prayer book' was bought 'for the fast.' This fast was probably held to pray for the success of their Majesties' forces in Ireland, and of the combined English and Dutch fleets, engaged with the French.

On November 14, 1691, there was a purchase of '2 Books of Thanksgiving.' This thanksgiving would be for the defeat of the Irish, under the French General St. Just, by the English under General Ginckel, by which the party of James II. in Ireland was decisively crushed.

We next find under date May 22, 1692, 'for 2 prayer books for their Majesty's ffleet, 0 . 1 . 0'

And on September 20, 1692, 'Gave ye Ringers ffor victory over ye ffrence ffleet. 0 . 2 . 2'

The victory then celebrated was that of the combined fleets of the English and Dutch, under Admiral Russell, over the French, under Admiral Tourville, near Cape La Hogue.

On August 5, 1693, there was 'paid for a prayer book for thanksgiving for preservation of the King's person in ye battle of Landen, 0 . 1 . 0'

And on October 31, 1693, for 'ringing ye bells for his majestys safe return home, 0 . 1 . 0'

The battle of Landen, in which William was defeated by the French, was fought on July 29, 1693. The King landed at Harwich on October 29.

The next year he made another expedition into Holland, leaving England on May 6, and returning on November 2; accordingly we find on May 22, 1694, 'paid for two prayer books & a proclamation for the fast,' and on November 10, 1694, 'Gave the Ringers when ye King came home, 0 . 1 . 0'

On December 28, 1694, Queen Mary died, and on January 17, 169$\frac{4}{5}$, there was 'paid for hanging ye Pulpit in mourning for ye Queen, £1 . 7 . 3'

In the two following years we find some notices of a different kind.

On February 8, 169$\frac{5}{6}$, there is an entry of the purchase of '2 book by command of ye King to ye Bishops and from them sent all over England in their Diocess^s Concerning the Holy Trinity.' And on March 10 169$\frac{7}{8}$, 'paid for a Proclamation Against Profaneness, 0 . 0 . 6'

In August 1696, there was a 'payment of 1^s ffor 2 prayer books for ye fire of London.'

Under date September 13, 1697, we read 'Gave ye ringers for ringing ye bells upon ye proclaiming peace. 0 . 0 . 6'

The accession of Queen Anne was celebrated in a more jovial manner, 'March 11, 170$\frac{1}{2}$, Paid M^r Fisher [the Land-lord of the Sieve] for wine drunk when the Queen was proclaimed, 0 . 14 . 0'

On March 31, 1701, there was 'Paid at Receiving of a Proclamation for a fast & two Prayer books for that purpose, 0 . 1 . 0.'

This has reference to a proclamation, issued on March 6, at the instance of the Commons, for imploring a blessing on the consultations of Parliament.

On November 7, 1710, 5^s was paid for preaching on Thanksgiving Day.

In a vestry minute, dated May 10, 1711, referring to the question of the best means of raising money to meet the deficiency in the poor rates, occurs the following passage, shewing how heavily the effects of the long continuance of war was pressing upon the nation :—

'Whereas ye Increase of ye Poor & other contingent Charges are Still very great upon the Said Parish Occasioned by ye dearness of provisions ye greatness of Taxes & badness of Trade &c.'

In the same year, the bells were again set ringing for the success of the British arms on July 30, and again on September 9, 1^s was paid to the 'Ringers on Acco^t of News.' And on May 12, 1713, they were again rung on proclaiming the Peace.

The next year began the reign of George I., and the bells were accordingly rung on the day of his landing at Greenwich (September 20), and on the day of his public Entry and his Coronation Day (October 20), and the Prince's birthday, October 30.

Again they were rung on June 9, 1716, 'being Thanks-Giving Day for ye Surpression of ye late Rebellion.'

On February 1, of the same year, there is an entry, which exhibits the plan then adopted for checking robberies, by making the county reimburse the sufferers, 'Paid to M^r Munt High Constable for 3 Rober^{is} in ye County being So much assessed on this Parish, 0 . 18 . 8½.'

After this time, entries bearing upon historical events are few and far between.

On April 29, 1746, 2^s was 'Paid for forms of Prayers from the Commons for the Victory over the Rebells in Scotland.'

On March 17, 1750, 1^s was 'Paid for a Form of Prayer on Account of the Earthquake.'

On August 18, 1758, there was another ringing of the bells 'when Louisborough was taken.'

With the exception of a collection of £30 3*s.* made in 1806, for the Patriotic Fund, the only other subject of public nature brought to our notice, to which allusion has not already been made, has reference to the excitement from time to time aroused by the dread of papal aggression.

Under date August 30, 1780, we read, 'Gave the Messenger from the Bishop of London Concerning Papists, 0 . 2 . 0,' and on February 10, 1784, 'P^d M^r Purps for defending the Parish against Willington in ye riots, 2 . 15 . 8.' And on September 18, of the same year, 'P^d M^r Wright the Expenses the two first Nights of the Rioters, 0 . 5 . 0.'

On May 27, 1813, 'Agreed that a contribution be made towards the expenses of a petition to Parliament against the Bill for Roman Catholic Emancipation.'

CHAPTER XIX

THE REGISTERS

The register books—Population—Professions, trades, &c.—Foreign inhabitants—Epidemics—The Great Plague—Baptisms, marriages, burials

The Register books of the parish now in existence are 18 in number, and are of various shapes and sizes. Some three or four volumes, however, of the marriage registers are missing; there is a blank from February 13, 1649, to February 17, 1658, and from July 25, 1659, to April 30, 1660, and from April 8, 1663, to March 26, 1676. There are two occasions also, when the usual entries were omitted in the burial books, viz. from 1569 to 1574, and from 1644 to 1658.

	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials.
The 1st vol. contains .	1553–1710.	1579–1644.	1566–1713.
2nd ,, ,, .		1644–1649.	
3rd ,, ,, .		1658–1659.	
4th ,, ,, .		1660–1663.	
5th ,, ,, .		1676–1683.	
6th ,, ,, .		1683–1687. 1692–1754.	
7th ,, ,, .		1687–1692.	
[1] 8th ,, ,, .		1693–1713.	
9th ,, ,, .		1754–1812.	
10th ,, ,, .		1813–1828.	
11th ,, ,, .		1828–1837.	
12th ,, ,, .		1838–1859.	
13th ,, ,, .		1860–1899.	
[2] 14th ,, ,, .		do. – do.	
15th ,, ,, .	1710-1812.		1713–1750.
[3] 16th ,, ,, .			1750–1812.
17th ,, ,, .			1812–1852.[4]
18th ,, ,, .	1812–1899.		

[1] Duplicate copy of part of 6 endorsed 'minister's book.'

[2] Duplicate.

[3] Contains also copies of 2, 3 & 4, which are much dilapidated.

[4] No further burials.

On the title-page of the first volume is written :—

In n̅o̅i̅e̅ Dei Amen:

The Register book of all suche Christenyngs Mariages and Burialls as hath bene within the parrishe of the Trinity Minories since the xxi daye of December Anno 1563. as followeth.

This Register Booke was bought upon friday being the 2 day of November 1599 & in the 41 yere of the raigne of our Soveraign ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of England ffrance and Ireland Defender of the faith &c in the tyme of

M^{r} Will^{m} park Minister
M^{r} Peter ffloyd } churchwardens
M^{r} Thomas Barren }
Willm Monke Clarke

This book was evidently purchased in conformity with the requirements of a canon, passed by Convocation in 1597, to the effect that register books should be on parchment, and all former entries on paper were to be copied into them, and every page was to be signed by the rector, vicar, or curate, and the churchwardens. This latter injunction of the canon has very seldom been carried out. Even the names of the clergy who officiated at the weddings are only given in the older registers for the years 1678 to 1687, and do not appear again till recent times. The copying of the original entries into the parchment book was done with the utmost care and neatness. Until the year 1622, the entries appear to have been made by the same hand, after which the style of manuscript sadly degenerates.

In addition to the value of parish registers in affording materials for constructing family pedigrees, and composing family histories, they are useful in throwing many a side light upon the character, condition and occupation of the population generally, at successive epochs. In some parishes, especially in country places where no other records of importance were kept, many notes of interesting occurrences were made in the register books, and although the other parochial records of the Minories are singularly profuse, there is still much to be learned from incidental statements in these registers, and many inferences may be drawn from the lists of births, deaths, and marriages.

We have already utilised such general information as we were able to draw from the marriage registers, in the Chapter on Clandestine Marriages, and it is indeed mostly from the baptismal and burial registers, especially the former, that we learn who and what the inhabitants were; but this again is only at certain periods, by far the greater part of the registers containing nothing beyond bare names and dates.

It is the earliest registers, and then again those of modern times, that state in the case of baptisms the father's profession, trade, or calling; occasionally some memorandum is made about the deceased in the burial registers, and, if he happened to be a foreigner, or there was anything peculiar about his death, a reference to this is made.

From these notifications, we gather that, from the latter half of the sixteenth century, in addition to the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, and other well-to-do people who lived in the larger houses of this then fashionable neighbourhood, there was a considerable population engaged in trades of various kinds, such as doctors, surgeons, cobblers, fruiterers, silk weavers, or silk twisters, butchers, tailors, carpenters, grocers, cheesemongers, stock-makers, sawyers, cordwainers, and glovers. Others are described as cooks and servants; 'Musicians to her Ma^{tie}' congregated here in considerable numbers; any who had no profession are described as gentlemen, the labourer without a trade does not appear to have existed in those days.

The foreign element at this time was by no means small, many of the foreigners (who are invariably described as strangers or aliens) being Dutch. In James I.'s reign they increased considerably, the numbers buried in 1625 being unusually large, and it is a curious circumstance that, in that year, one of the churchwardens is styled the churchwarden for the strangers, which would seem to imply that, on account of their numbers, one was appointed to represent them, or was specially entrusted with the duty of attending to their interests, or possibly collecting their dues.

Fifty years later there was an influx of coloured people into the parish; between the years 1679 and 1714 no fewer than twenty-four persons were baptised, who are described as 'a black' or 'a more.' In each case they had English Christian names given to them ; one, who was called 'Peter,' is stated to have previously gone by the name of 'Pedro,' clearly denoting that he hailed from Spain. In most of these entries the names of the sureties are given as well. Another subject on which these registers enlighten us is the extent of the population. The average number of baptisms at the close of the sixteenth century was ten per annum, and the burials were the same. At the end of the seventeenth century they were respectively twenty-two and twenty-three. From these figures we may assume the population to have been about 300 to 400 and 600 to 700 at those two periods.

The burial registers have yet another tale to tell, and that is of the appalling epidemics which from time to time literally decimated the population. Notwithstanding the efforts of the vestry to deal, according to their lights, with sanitary matters, the systems they adopted, or the way in which they were carried out, must have been hopelessly at fault. It is quite possible too that the custom of burying in the church, and the utterly inadequate space for graves in the churchyard, while the parish well adjoined it, may have been responsible for much of the mischief.

The first outburst of which our registers inform us was in the autumn of 1582 (though for the three previous years the death rate had been somewhat above the average), and it continued throughout the greater part of the next year, there being thirty-one burials in 1582, and thirty-four in 1583 ; but what is so noticeable is that, when a family was attacked with illness, several of its members were carried off in a few days. In one instance there were as many as seven out of a single household, four of whom were buried on the same day.

After this the death-rate was quite normal till 1593, when it suddenly rose to eighty-four, but the next year it was only six, and the average varied little till 1602, when the figures stood at thirty-four, and the next year rose to eighty. On this occasion also there is similar evidence of whole families being stricken down; for instance, from one house a husband, wife, two sons, and two servants, were carried forth within eleven days.

From 1605 to 1608 the death-rate ruled about double the average, but the worst year of all, only a little surpassed by the year of the Great Plague, was 1625, when no fewer than 131 were buried; and the severity of the sickness is emphasised by the statement, appended to some of the entries, that the victims had died in the street. It reached its height in July and August.

With the exception of 1636, when there were thirty-eight funerals, there was no year in which the rate of mortality increased to any great extent till 1665. The entries in the burial registers from 1660 to 1696 have the appearance of having been written in subsequently, as they are particularly neat and in the same handwriting, and those relating the names of the victims of the Plague are headed 'Here begineth the great sickness' which is a distinct proof of later insertion. After the name of each of those who died of the plague is written 'of the plague.'

The first was 'Margaret Owen' who was buried on August 11, 1665. One of the churchwardens was buried on August 31, and the clerk and sexton were both buried on September 14.

The numbers who died in each month were:—

In August	17
,, September	71
,, October	37
,, November	8
,, December	2
,, June, 1666	1
,, July, 1666	1
	137

Of all the 'sicknesses' which, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, devastated the population, this was the greatest and the last.

The registers of other London parishes tell the same sad tale of these periodical outbreaks. The causes were, no doubt, much the same everywhere, and infection would spread easily and quickly from one quarter to another; but there is not a hint that it ever occurred to the mind of any parish official that the sicknesses arose from causes which might, at least to some extent, be preventable.

With regard to that which is the primary object for which registers exist—viz. the record of those who were baptised or married in the church, or who were buried in the church or churchyard, the limit of space will not allow us to do more than make a selection of such entries as have reference to persons of note, or to those whose connection with the Minories appears to bear in any way upon its history, or to such as particularly illustrate the foregoing statements.

Baptisms

The first entry is:

Lucrecia galliardello daughter to Mr Mark Anthonye Galliardello Musician to the Queens Matie was baptised the 8 day of Aprill 1563.

Of the rest we note the following:—

Willām pellam the sonne of the Right worshippfull Mr Willm̄ pellam lievtennant of the Queenes Mates Ordinannce was baptised the 20 day of Maye 1567

Randall pavy son of Mr John pavy Clark of her Maties ordinance, 1591

daughter of Mr Moor & at that tyme preacher of the minories, 1592

Robert Lucy the sonne of Sr thomas lucy Knight was baptised the 9 daye of february 1595

Robert Morrison the Sonne of Sr Richard Morrison Knight Lieutenant of his Maties ordinance was Baptised the 3 daye of Maye 1617

Luce Roper the daughter of Sr Thomas Roper Knight was baptised the 25th of April 1619

Anne Haydon baptised 23th of September 1629.
Charles Haydon baptised 24th of March 1630.
John Haydon baptised the Seventh daie of November 1632
Rivitt haydon baptised the xvith day of June A° 1634
William haydon baptised the xxth May 1636
(died Novr 6. 1637.)

William haydon baptised the xxiiii day of June 1638
Marable Heydon baptised July 1639
Mary heydon baptised August 1640

The above were the children of S^r^ John Haydon knight Lieftennant of his Ma^ties^ Ordinance and of Dame Mary his wife.

Marie De Cerf the Daughter of John De Cerfe Mynister of this pish & of Marie his wife was Baptized the 27th of May 1630

Hannah Downes the Daughter of Elk: & Katherine Downes his wife was borne January 1. 1652 & baptized Sunday the 2nd of Jan: 1652

There were also born to the same parents 'Mary' in 1654, 'Robert' in 1657, and 'Elkanah' in 1660.

Thomas the Sonne of S^r^ ffrances Burdett & Elizabeth his wife of the pish of Rexingdon alas Rexton in the County of Derby was born Aprill ye 28th baptized Aprill 29th 1654.

Mary daughter of Captaine George Legg & of Barbary his wife baptized October 7. 1668.

Elizabeth daughter of Captain George Legg and of Barbary his wife was baptized the 10th day of September 1670.

Haltden [1678], Bridget [1680], William [1681], Margaret [1684], the children of M^r^ John Weston Minister and Bridget his wife.

Robert ye Sonne of M^r^ John Swynfen Minister and of Roberta his wife 1697.

M^r^ Possey had a Daughter Crisned Kateren the 4th of July 1648.

In 1649 there is an entry of a baptism performed in another church by the minister of this parish:

Damirs Swan The Dafter of M^r^ Richard and M^rs^ Dorithy Swan was Baptised at The Parish of James Duks plase the 12th of June 1649: by M^r^ Elkanah Downs Minister of ye Trinity Minerres Middlesex.

William Sharp[1] s. of William Sharp born Jany 17th & bapt. Feby 13, 1750.

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[1] He was a celebrated engraver. At the time of his birth his father, the elder William (a gun-maker), was residing in Haydon Yard, Minories. The engraver died on July 25, 1824, at Chiswick, and was buried there.

Marriages

The register of marriages does not commence till the year 1579, and it is a curious coincidence that Lucretia Galliardello, who heads the list of the baptisms, is also the first whose marriage is registered.

Mr henry Truches musician to the Queens matie and Lucretia Galliardello were married the 14th day of January, 1579.

Mrs. Troches died in September 1584, and her husband married for his second wife Katherine Laund on December 21, 1585.

Another daughter of Mr. Galliardello's was married in 1585.

John Launyer of east grenewich musician to the Queens Matie and ffrancis galliardello daughter of the late deceased Mr Mark Anthony galliardello also an ancient musician to sundrie most noble princes as king henrye the 8. Edward the 6. queen Marye & now to our noble Queen Elizabeth were married the 12 daye of October 1585.

Mr. Galliardello, who is described here as 'an Ancient,' that is one who, being a member of the vestry, had served the higher offices, was Churchwarden during the years 1569 and 1570, and had died on the previous 17th of June. He was a man not only of considerable eminence in his time, but highly esteemed. Besides his two daughters he had two sons, one of whom, Caesar, was musician to James I. A grandson of Caesar's, named Mark Anthony, was Town Clerk of Walsall in Staffordshire in 1663. Mr. Lannier was Churchwarden in 1590 and 1591.

Among the mass of names that the marriage registers contain there may be many more of interest, but we have been unable to find reason for mentioning any others than the following :—

Willm̃ Willford a squire of kent and Ann Carew were maried by license from the Archbishupp of Canterbury the 3 daye of March 1596.

Sr Thomas Eden of Sudbery in the Countye of Suffolk and Bettrice Goodman of St Buttolphes Algate were married by lisence the 27 of September 1608.

Thomas[1] Lord Bruce Baron of kinlust and Anne[2] Chichester the only daughter of S^{r} Robert Chichester of Runley in the county of devonshire knight were married by licence ffrom the Lord bishopp of London out of M^{r} Kemps office the 4 daye of July 1622.

John Archer minister of Gods word & Sussanna Rutton were married by license the 3th Januarie 1626.

Mayster John haydonne, Esquire, Lieutenant of his Ma^{ties} ordinance, and M^{is} Mary Phillips Westminster were married by license November 24th 1628.

(The word 'Spinster' is found for the first time in 1638.)

BURIALS

Many of the earlier burials are entered in the church-wardens' books as well as in the register, but evidently for the purpose of recording the amount that was received for the funeral. The following appear in the accounts for 1573:—

Maister John Pellam was buried in the quire the vii daie of maie & we had vii^{s} & viii^{d}

Maister Chisters made was buried in the church yarde the xxv daie June & we had xv^{d}.

Goodwife More & sara litton was buried in the churchyard & we had nothinge.

So in 1574:

Receaved for burings In the yeare of our lorde god. 1.5.7.4 as followeth in our a counte which you may see in our reckninge there names & what dayes they weare burryed in and wheare and what we had for every one which a mountteth to iii^{l} xvi^{s} viii^{d}.

From Machyn's diary we are able to quote the following, dated 1558:—

The xiii day of Marche did and bered at the Munyrys, at vi of the cloke of nyght, my lade Jennynges, doytheer to ser John Gage knyght.

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[1] Thomas Bruce, Lord Kinloss and Baron Bruce of Kinloss, in the peerage of Scotland, was created on June 21, 1633, Earl of Elgin, and Lord Bruce of Kinloss (Scotland), with remainder to his heirs male of the name of Bruce. He was born December 2, 1599, at Edinburgh, being son of Edward Bruce, first Lord Kinloss and Baron Bruce of Kinloss, Master of the Rolls (1604-11).—Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*.

[2] Anne died March 20, 1672.

From the burial register itself we select the following :—

M^{ris} Ales hatcher of Cambridge, gentlewoman. sarvant to the right honorable the duchesse[1] of Suffolk was buried the 12 daye of Julye 1567.

Mr Thomas Barten.[2] gentleman. and brother unto the right worshippfull M^{r} Barten husband to the right honorable the duchesse of Suffolk was buried the 3 daye of Aprill. 1568.

Thomas Butler who he was I know nott was buried the 13 daye of Marche 1577.

There are several other entries of a similar kind about this time.

S^{r} John Pellam knight was buried by torche light the 13 daye of october between the houres of 5 and 6 in the mornynge 1580.

Jane Eton the wife of Anthony Eaton porter of the farther minories was buried the 2 daye of March 1580.

Peter von hamisbork. stranger of brussells & the low countreys, was buried on the 26 Daye of November 1582.

M^{r} Willm̄ Jordayne. esquire surveyor of the Queanes ma^{ties} ordinance of the Tower of London. of the of 59 yeares was buried the 15 daye of Marche 1583.

ffranncis Jhones servant to my Lord S^{t} John was buried the 24 daye of June 1584.

Lucrecia Troches the wife of M^{r} henry Troches musician to the Queenes ma^{tie} was buried the 10 daye of September 1584.

M^{r} Ollyver Pellam the sonne of S^{r} John Pellam knight deceased was buried the 20 daye of Januarye 1584.

M^{r} Mark Anthony galliardello musician and servant unto the Queenes Ma^{tie} was buryed in good name and fame and most godly Report of all his neighbors the 17 daye of June 1585.

Willm̄ Carun. Jermann to pattrick welch fruiterer was buried the 26 daye of December 1586.

Elizabeth wood the wife of John wood preacher of the dutch churche in London deceased was buried the 20 daye of March 1586.

Guillame le Roy. marchant of the towne of Rovon in normandy in frannce was buried the 29 daye of July 1587.

James harding the sonne of James harding musicion to the Quenes ma^{tie} a crisom[3] was buried the 31 of August, 1586.

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[1] Katherine, widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

[2] This is a misspelling for 'Bertie.'

[3] A chrisom was a child who died within a month after baptism. Several children are so described.

Edward hunt housholder new chosen for the sexton of our church in the Mineryes was buryed the 8 day of June 1589.

S^r^ Robert Outred knight of kixley in the countye of york was out of the Queenes house called the further minoryes, being in the keeping & government of the Right Worshippfull S^r^ Robert Constable knyght buryed in the mynoryes churche the 24 daye of november in an^o^ 1590, being on a teusdaye at even tyde by torch light and was aged one hundreth yeres & more 1590.

S^r^ Robert Constable knight Lievetennant of the quens maiesties ordinannce was buried in the channcell of the Trinity Mineryes churche on fridaye at nyght being the 12 daye of november between 7 & 8 of the clock at nyght 1591.

katherine troches the wife of m^r^ henry troches musician to the Queens ma^tie^ was buried the 28 daye of August 1593.

John Nichalson preacher of the minories was buried the 18 day of october 1593.

Mathew Joseph servant to S^r^ george Carew was buried the 11 daye of ffebruary 1593.

The Lord Mon Joye[1] was buried the 27 daye of July 1594.

Constance Lucy the daughter of S^r^ thomas lucye knyght was buried the 12 daye of ffebruarye 1595.

The Lady Anne Aston the wife of S^r^ Edward Aston of tixsall in the county of Stafford knyght was buried the 23 daye of September 1596.

mistres Margarett douriche a kynswoman of S^r^ George Carews was buried the 29 daye of June 1601.

Maudlin Simonelly a child from my lord Powes was buried the 29 daye of October 1605.

The Lady Mary Varnom the wife of the Lord Henry Varnom was buried the 30 day of December 1605.

M^r^ Richard Olliston one of his Ma^ties^ servants was buried the 19 daye of november 1606.

M^rs^ Anne Merrie a gentlewoman from S^r^ Roger Dallison was buried the 25 daye of December 1610.

M^r^ henry Troches Musician to the kings most excellent ma^tie^ was buried the 4 daye of January 1616.

M^r^ Willm̄ Cudneron of His Ma^ties^ pencioners was buried the 15 daye of March 1616.

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[1] This was William Blount, seventh Baron Mountjoy. He is said to have been buried on July 23 at St. Mary's, Aldermary, having died at the Bishop of London's house near St. Paul's. The probability is that his body was first taken to St. Mary's and four days later removed to the Minories.

Joyse Legg the wife of Willm̄ Legg was buried the 27 daye of Octo^{r} 1617.

John Pavy servant to S^{r} Richard Morrison knight was buried the 13 daye of Januarii 1617.

Thomas damford servant to the right worshipfull S^{r} Richard Morrison was buried the 22nd of March 1624.

Grace de Riviera wyfe of John de Riviera was buried the 28th of April 1625.

Charles Crouces dyed in the streete was buried the 19th of July 1625.

M^{r} John Woolfeden our Preacher was buryed the xvith day of August 1625.

Cornelia Audley wife to Thomas Audley gent. was buryed the Sixt day of September 1625.

A Stranger w^{ch} dyed suddenly in other streete was buried februa: 28th 1627.

John Heydon the sonne of S^{r} John Heydon K^{t} Lievtenant of his Ma^{te} Ordinance was buried the xxixth day of June 1633.

M^{r} CORNELIUS DRIBBELL his Ma^{tie} Cheife Ingenneere was Buried the 16th day of October 1633.

Rivett Heydon sonne of S^{r} John Heydon was buried the xvith of Aprill 1635.

Dorithie Belly daughter of S^{r} William Bellye was buried the xix of Aprill 1635.

Margarett Ecclebee daughter of Nanabee Ecclebee was buried the ixth of November 1636.

Thomas Kelsey Barbar Surgion was buried the xth day of December 1636.

Margarett harvey dyed in the streete and was buried the xvith of September 1637.

A man child of the said Margarett harveys was buried the xxii of September 1637.

William Heydon sonne of S^{r} John Heydon Master of the Ordynannce was buried the xith day of November 1637.

M^{r} Christopher Parr Gent. dyed at S^{r} John Haydons house and was buried the vith day of March 1638.

John De Cerfe Mynister was buried the iiiith day of December 1639.

John Ward Trumpeter was buried the xvith day of January out of M^{r} Amtreys house 1639.

Thomas Lunn Minister was buried in the Chancell March the 8th 1675.

About this time several persons of the name of Shippey were buried, to whom no doubt Sheppy Yard owes its origin.

Sarah Bradley a Child Buried in a pew by ye desk January ye 5th 1687.

William Sillock that was Murthered was Buried in ye old Church yerd October ye 27th 1691.

Sr William Pritchard by Sirtif: to Grate Linford in ye County of Bucks feby 28th 1704.

Daniel King Esq: brought from Eltham was buryed in his own Valt December 18th 1716.

The Lady Pritchard Buryed by Certificate paid North Valt Dutye May 5th 1718.

Henry Basindine was buried in his own Vault in ye little West ground June ye 10. 1724.

John ye Son of ye Revnd Mr Kinnersley Minister and of Elizabeth his wife buried North Vault March ye 8 1724.

Peter Cooke was Buried in a Vault that was given him by an Act of Vestry on ye South Side of ye Church November ye 29 1734.

Mrs Ann King daughter of Daniel King Esq: was Buried in his Vault January 3. 1734.

Margaret Cooke was buried in a Vault that was given to her Husband Peter Cook by an act of Vestry in ye south side of the Church August ye 13. 1741.

Jane King wife of Daniel King Esq: was buried in his Vault February ye 8 1743.

Captain David Lindsay buried in North Vault March 9th 1763.

Mrs Mary Winnock was buried in the Parish Chancel Vault Jany ye 4 1770.

(This is the first mention of the chancel vault as such, though it is no doubt identical with that which was granted to Mr. King.)

The Reverend Mr William Petvin Rector of this Parish was Buryed in the North Vault Augt ye 8 1770.

Mrs Anne Fly wife of the Revd Mr Henry Fly Minister of this Parish was Buryed in the North Vault July ye 17. 1773.

The following memorandum appears in 1784 :—

Inspected, & Duty received to the Second of Jany 1784. B. Keene reg: of births &c.

This refers to the duty of 3*d.* imposed upon every entry in registers, a duty which was taken off in 1794.

Charles Newton Esq: buried in the Chancell Vault 1790.

Charles Elias Youd [1] was buried on Feby 4th 1838.

The Revd William Blunt aged 49 Incumbent of the Parish was buried in the East Vault on Oct 27th 1849.

The last burial was that of a child, Frederick Owen, in the West Vault on May 9, 1852.

The following, which we append separately, are the entries of all those who have been buried in Lord Dartmouth's vault.

1. Colonell William Legg of the bedchamber and leftennant of his Maiestyes Ordinance was buried in a vault in the Chancell October 20th 1670.
2. Anne daughter of Coronell George Legg was buried in the valt March 20th 1680.
3. Jane Legg daughter of Collonell George Legg Master of his Maiesties Ordinance was buried in the valt the 27th day of June 1682.
4. Ye Lady Elizabeth Legg Buried in ye vault December 19, 1688.
5. Mr Phillip Musgrove Buried in ye vault July 5th 1689.
6. George Lord of Dartmouth Buried in a vault in ye Church October ye 27 1691.
7. Sir Christopher Musgrove knight and Baraknight of St James Westminster Buried in the Vault August 1st 1704.
8. Ye Right Honorable William Legg a child sonne to ye Right Honorable ye Lord Dartmouth by Sirtificate from St Margarets Westminster in queens square ye queens duty paid so Reported in ye Sirtificate December ye 14th 1705.
9. The Lady Goodrick Aunt to the Right Honble the Lord Dartmouth was buryed in his Lordsps Valt March 23rd 1714.
10. The Lady Barbary Dartmouth Mother to the right Honble The Lord Dartmouth was buryed in his Lordsp owne Valt ffeb 5th 1717.
11. Robert A Child put into my Lord Dartmouths Vault being buried nine years 100 miles of before March ye 13. 1725.
12. Arthur a Son of ye Rt Honble Ld Lewisham buried at Marybone and after brought and put in to my Ld Dartmouth Vault oct ye 27 Alsoe a Still born a bout 3 years before 1729.

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[1] He is said to have been one of the men who carried Nelson down to the cockpit.

13. The Lady Barbary Howard Nice to ye Rt Honble ye Lord Dartmouth was buried in his Lordship Vault August ye 2nd 1732.

14. The Rt Honble ye Viscount Lewisham was Buried in ye Rt Honble ye Ld Dartmouth Vault 1732.

15. The Honble Susana Legg was buried May ye 10 In ye Lord Dartmouth Vault 1739.

16. The Honble Barbara Legge was Buried January ye 17 In ye Lord Dartmouth Vault 1739 [1740].

17. The Honourable my Lady Ann Legge Buried in the Family Vault December 14, 1746.

18. The Most Noble Pussuiant William Lord Dartmouth Visscount Lewisham & Baron of Dartmouth Buried Decber the 21—in the Vault Belonging to the said family from Greenwich 1750.

19. The Honble Ann Legge Countiss of Dartmouth was Buried in their own family Vault Decr 7. 1751.

20. The Right Honble Ann Legge Buried July 4. 1752.

21. The Honble the Lady Elizabeth Legge Buried in Their Family Vault Sep. the 22nd 1760.

22. The Honourable Henage Legg Son of the Earle of Dartmouth was Buryed in their Family Vault Septr 12, 1782 Aged 21.

23. The Honourable Colonel Charles Gunter Legg Son of the Earle of Dartmouth was Buryed in their Family Vault Octr ye 27th 1785. aged 27 years.

24. The Right Honourable Ann Brudenell wife of James the Lord Brudenell was Buried Jany 26 in the Family Vault belonging to Lord Dartmouth 1786.

25. The Honourable George Legge Buried in The Family Vault belonging to the Honourable Lord Dartmouth Feby 17. 1789.

26. The Honourable Frances Katherine Legge was buried in the Family Vault belonging to the Honourable Lord Dartmouth March ye 14. 1789.

27. The Right Honourable William Legge Earl of Dartmouth &c. aged 71 in ye Family Vault 3 August 1801.

28. The Honourable Elizabeth Keene aged 70 years in ye Earl of Dartmouth's Vault 17 Decr 1801.

29. The Right Honble   ye Countiss Dowager of Dartmouth aged 71 in ye Family Vault 4 March 1805.

30. Right Honble George Earl of Dartmouth Lord High Chamberlain of England Aged   Family Vault Novr 24th 1810.

	Date.	Name.	Abode.	When Buried.	Age.	By whom the ceremony was performed.
31.	1820.	Lady Elizabeth Legge	Putney in the County of Surrey.	11 March.	71 years.	Hen. Fly
32.	1820.	Arthur Kaye Legge	Grosvenor Square	25 March.	13 years.	Hen. Fly
33.	1823.	Frances Charlotte Countis of Dartmouth.	S^t Georges Hanover Square	18 October.	22 years.	Hen. Fly
34.	1823.	George Viscount Lewisham.	S^t Georges Hanover Square.	18 October.	1 year.	Hen. Fly
35.	1827.	Heneage Legge, Esq.	Putney in their family Vault	Jan^y 9.	80 years.	H. S^t Andrew S^t John
36.	1849.	Frances Legge Countess of Dartmouth	S^t James Square	Aug. 18th 1849.	46 years.	John Jackson Rector of S^t James West^r.

In the case of each of those above numbered 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 22, £2 10*s.* was paid to the parish authorities for their being buried in linen, and 15 and 16 in velvet.

It is a somewhat melancholy reflection that, of all those who for some six hundred years have been buried in the Minories, it is only those buried in this vault of whom it can be said, with any certainty, that their bodies have been left undisturbed where they were laid to rest.

Though his name does not appear in the registers[1] Sir Isaac Newton is stated to have resided in Haydon Square when Warden and Master Worker of the Mint. The house in which he lived was taken down in 1852.

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[1] John Timbs, *Curiosities of London.*

CHAPTER XXI

Fees

The right to receive parochial fees of every description, and to fix the rate at which they should be levied was, from the beginning to the end of its existence, asserted and maintained by the vestry. As with his income from other sources, the minister had to be content with whatever the vestry chose to apportion to him. They never acknowledged that he had any rights in the matter whatever.

At first, they do not appear to have had any fixed scale of payments, but the actual charges made appear in the churchwardens' accounts. The first entries under this head are in 1568, beginning with a marriage:—

Item R^{d} of a ffrenche man for his maryadge the xxiii of february	xii^{d}

Then follow the receipts for three burials:—

Imp^{r}m^{is} Re^{d} ffor m^{r} bartons burial in the chyrche the vith day of May	xiii^{s} iiii^{d} in the quyer
Item Re^{d} the xxiiiith day of may ffor the buryall of rycharde picke in the bodye of the chyrche .	vi^{s}
Item Re^{d} the xxiith day of november ffor the buryall of John pargerter a chylde at the dore of the iele	iii^{s} iiii^{d}

In the next year the receipts for burials vary from 6*s.* 8*d.* for a burial in the church, to 4*d.* for a Dutch child in the churchyard. In 1573, the fee for burying in the quire was 7*s.* 8*d.* and in the same year there was 'Receaved fowre Mariges In the yeare of o^{r} lorde god 1573, fowre grotes apece v^{s} iiii^{d}.'

In 1580, a table of fees was 'sett downe for the burialls in the Churche & places thereof,' which shews a general advance upon the charges previously made :—

In the Channcell a man or a woman not being a parishioner	xvi^{s} viii^{d}
If it be a child & not a parishioner	xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
If a man or a woman a parishioner	xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
If a child & a parishioner	viii^{s}
If a man or a woman not a parishioner be buried betwixt the Pews	x^{s}
If a child not a parishioner	vi^{s} viii^{d}
If a man or a woman a parishioner	vi^{s} viii^{d}
If a child a parishioner	v^{s}
In the lower end a man or a woman not a parishioner buried shall paie	vi^{s} viii^{d}
a child so buried & not a parishioner	v^{s}
A man or woman a parishioner	v^{s}
A child	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
In the churchyard a man or woman not a parishioner	xx^{d}
A child not a parishioner	xii^{d}
A man or woman a parishioner	xvi^{d}
A child a parishioner	viii^{d}

In 1619 the table of fees was revised, and churchings and marriages were then included in the list, with the addition of fees for the minister and the clerk. A resolution was again passed in 1680, reimposing the same rates without any alteration, viz. :—

	Parish dutyes	Ministers dutyes	Clerks dutyes
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
Marriages	2 : 4	5 : 8	1 : 9
Churchings		6	4
Burials			
— In ye chancell	2 : 0 : 0	5 : 0	2 : 6
— In ye body of ye Church	1 : 0 : 0	3 : 4	2 : 0
— Under ye Gallery	13 : 4	3 : 4	2 : 0
— In ye old Church yard	2 : 0	2 : 6	1 : 0
— In ye new Church yard	3 : 0	2 : 6	1 : 0
— for children not Communic^{ts} half as much everywhere			
— for ye Black Cloath	2 : 0		
Making & Covering ye graves in ye Chancell	1 : 6		

	Parish dutyes s. d.
Making & Covering ye graves in ye Church	1 : 0
In ye Church yard	1 : 0
tollinge ye Bell each hour	0 : 4

Memorandum that all Strangers shall pay in all ye Pticulars above mencōned Double Dutyes (Except Marriages).

In the library of Lambeth Palace there is another list of fees, bound up with those of other parishes, which, though it is dated 1635, does not correspond with the above. This, which we give below, may have been adopted as a temporary expedient, in consequence of pressure from without, and may account for the reimposition of the former rates by the vestry in 1680.

A transcript out of ye table of ye duties for marriges burrialls & Churchings[1]

Ye Parsons duties for parishioners

ffor euery Churchinge		vii^{d}
ffor eury wedding & banes at Church	iii^{s}	vi^{d}
ffor offerings upon euery xx^{s}		xii^{d}
ffor burialls in ye Church	iiii^{s}	
ffor burialls in ye Church yard wth Coffyn	ii^{s}	
ffor burialls in ye Church yard w^{thout} Coffyn		xii^{d}

In euery of these the Parsons duties for Strangers are duble

The duties for Ye pish

ffor eury one buried in ye Church for Breaking the ground & for an afternoons knell	xviii^{s}	viii^{d}
ffor eury one buried in ye Church porch & the knell	xiii^{s}	iiii^{d}
ffor eury buriall in ye Church yard wth Coffin	iiii^{s}	
& w^{thout} a Coffin		xii^{d}
ffor eury one buried in the Churchyard wth a foreman & hath a knell	iii^{s}	iiii^{d}

In eury of them the pish duties for strangers are duble

The Clerks duties for pishon^{s}

ffor eury Churchinge	v^{d}
ffor eury Baynes	iiii^{d}
ffor eury weddinge at Lawfull houre	xviii^{d}

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[1] *Chartæ Miscellaneæ* (Lambeth Palace), vol. vii. p. 51 (1625) endorsed 'Trinity Minorites.'

ffor making the Pitt in ye Church		xvi^{d}
ffor making pitt in Church yard & the knell		xvi^{d}
ffor the Clarks attendance at buriall		xiii^{d}
ffor his attendance w^{thout} a foreman		iiii^{d}
ffor ringing of Peals wth all the bells	ii^{s}	
ffor towlinge the great bell in the day for an hower		iiii^{d}
& in the night		vi^{d}
ffor an afternoons knell for the Clarke	ii^{s}	

On March 26, 1702, the vestry once more revised the list of burial fees, and issued the following table:—

Burialls	Parish Dutyes £ s. d.	Ministers Dutyes s. d.	Clerks Dutyes s. d.	Sextons Dutyes s. d.
In the R^{t} Hon^{ble} the Lord Dartmouth's Vault	3 : 00 : 0	10 : 0	05 : 0	02 : 6
ffor Children not Communicants half so much	1 : 10 : 0	10 : 0	05 : 0	02 : 6
In the parish Chancel Vault on the Southside	3 : 00 : 0	10 : 0	05 : 0	02 : 6
ffor Children not Communicants half so much	1 : 10 : 0	10 : 0	05 : 0	02 : 6
In the Vault on the North side of the Church	1 : 05 : 0	04 : 0	02 : 6	01 : 0
ffor Children not Communicants half so much	0 : 12 : 6	04 : 0	02 : 6	01 : 0
In the Vault on the Southside of the Church	0 : 15 : 6	03 : 0	02 : 6	01 : 0
ffor Children not Communicants half so much	0 : 07 : 6	03 : 0	02 : 6	01 : 0
In the Church yard enclosed at the ffront of the Church	0 : 07 : 6	03 : 0	02 : 6	01 : 0
ffor Children not Communicants half so much	0 : 03 : 9	03 : 0	02 : 6	
In the outward Churchyard enclosed with posts	0 : 06 : 0	02 : 6	01 : 6	
ffor Children not Communicants half so much	0 : 03 : 0	02 : 6	01 : 6	
In the Churchyard lying on the Southside of the Church	0 : 03 : 0	02 : 6	02 : 6	
ffor Children not Communicants half so much	0 : 01 : 6	02 : 6	01 : 6	
ffor Churching of every woman		01 : 6	00 : 6	

Burial	Parish Dutyes	Ministers Dutyes	Clerks Dutyes	Sextons Dutyes
ffor Towling the passing Bell			01 : 6	
ffor every buriall in the Lord Dartmouths Vault and parish Chancell Vault .				02 : 6
ffor digging a Grave in any of the Church Yards and for every burial in the north & south Vaults .				01 : 0
Bearers { in case there is a Pall . .	0 : 02 : 0			
Bearers { without a Pall .	0 : 01 : 6			

ffor fforreiyners in any of the Particulars above named Double dutyes

Ordered that a table of these fees be set up in some convenient place of the said Church.

In 1720, the burial fees, as far as the parish duties were concerned, were again raised, but it was agreed, that the families of all those who had subscribed to the rebuilding of the church should pay on the old scale. In the table then issued, it is noticeable that children are no longer described as non-communicants, but as being under fourteen years of age, which implies that up to that time all children of fourteen were communicants.

The tables were once more revised in 1809, when the fees for burial in the south vault were raised to two guineas, in the north vault to three guineas, and in the vault immediately under the vestry room to five guineas. Further revision took place in 1830 and in 1836, and from the discussion that took place at the latter date it appears that the fee of £2 2*s*. was not charged in the case of a churchwarden dying when holding the office. It also appears that the incumbent was allowed a certain latitude in remitting burial fees for poor parishioners, but he had to report all such cases to the vestry every Easter Tuesday.

On April 6, 1847, the fee for burying in the south ground of the churchyard was further raised, in order if possible to prevent burials taking place any longer in that part.

In the minutes of a vestry meeting, held on September 2, 1850, we read:

> It appearing that it was the province of the Vestry to settle the amount of Surplice Fees to be paid in the Parish and to apportion same among those entitled thereto and there being some misunderstanding respecting same between the present Incumbent and the Parish Clerk It was ordered that same be settled at the next vestry.

At a vestry meeting held ten days afterwards,

> The subject of the apportionment of certain Surplice Fees under the head of Desk Service was then taken into consideration when after the Perpetual Curate and the Parish Clerk had addressed the Vestry relative to same as also some of the Parishioners Mr. Kennett the Parish Clerk waived his claim to the same.

The following is the table of fees as finally revised in 1851:—

Jan^y 23, 1851

Table of Fees

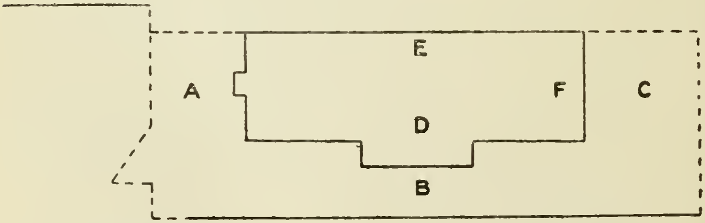
Marriage

	Minister	Clerk	Sexton
Publication of Banns . . .	– 1 0	– – 6	
Marriage by Banns . . .	– 8 0	– 3 6	– 1 –
Marriage by Licence . . .	– 12 0	– 4 6	– 1 –
Churching of Women . . .	– 1 0	– – 6	

Baptism

	Minister	Clerk
In the Church	– 1 –	– – 6

Burial



Church Yard

A. The West Ground
B. The South Ground
C. The East Ground

The Vaults

D. The South Vault
E. The North Vault
F. The East Vault

Vaults

	The Parish	Lead Coffin	Minister	Desk Service	Register	Clerk	Sexton	Pew Opener
F. Family Vault of the Right Hon$^{\text{ble}}$ Earl Dartmouth	6 0 0	1 11 6	1 0 0	– 10 0	– 1 0	– 10 0	– 10 0	– 1 0
Under 14 Years .	3 0 0	1 11 6	1 0 0	– 10 0	– 1 0	– 10 0	– 10 0	– 1 0
F. East Vault .	6 0 0	1 11 6	1 0 0	– 10 0	– 1 0	– 7 6	– 5 0	– 1 0
E. North . .	3 3 0	1 11 6	– 10 0	– 5 0	– 1 0	– 5 0	– 4 0	– 1 0
D. South . .	2 2 0	1 11 6	– 10 0	– 5 0	– 1 0	– 5 0	– 4 0	– 1 0
Under 14 years								
F. East Vault .	3 0 0	1 11 6	1 0 0	– 10 0	– 1 0	– 7 6	– 5 0	– 1 0
E. North . .	1 11 6	1 11 6	– 10 0	– 5 0	– 1 0	– 5 0	– 4 0	– 1 0
D. South . .	1 1 0	1 11 6	– 10 0	– 5 0	– 1 0	– 5 0	– 4 0	– 1 0

Church Yard

O. East Ground .	1 0 0	1 11 6	– 7 6	– 5 0	– 1 0	– 3 0	—	1 0
A. West . .	0 12 0	1 11 6	– 5 0	– 3 6	– 1 0	– 2 6	—	– 1 0
B. South . .	1 1 0	1 11 6	– 2 6	– 2 6	– 1 0	– 1 6	—	– 1 0
Under 14 Years								
O. East Ground .	– 15 0	1 11 6	– 7 6	– 5 0	– 1 0	– 3 0	—	– 1 0
A. West . .	– 8 0	1 11 6	– 5 0	– 3 6	– 1 0	– 2 6	—	– 1 0
B. South . .	1 0 0	1 11 6	– 2 6	– 2 6	– 1 0	– 1 6	—	– 1 0

The Bell	–	1	6
Grave 5ft. deep	–	3	0
Above 5ft. 1*s.* a foot			
Candles for the Church and Vault . . .	–	10	0
Candles for the Vault only	–	1	0

N.B. Persons not living in the Parish to pay Double Fees.

In this same year (1851) the Act of Parliament for closing the metropolitan churchyards was passed, and the parish claimed compensation for the loss of their portion of the burial fees. They obtained £16 12*s.* 2*d.*, but whether they ever received any further sums on this score does not appear; most probably they did not do so.

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